

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

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CHICAGO

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PERICLES OF ATHENS.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE OVERTHROW OF HELL AND ITS RESTORATION.¹

BY LEO TOLSTOY.

I.

IT WAS at the time when Jesus was revealing his teaching to men.

This teaching was so clear—it was so easy to follow, and delivered men from evil so obviously, that it seemed impossible not to accept it, or that anything could arrest its spread.

Beelzebub, the father and ruler of all the devils, was alarmed. He clearly saw that if only Jesus did not renounce his teaching, the power of Beelzebub over men would cease forever. He was alarmed, yet did not lose heart, but incited the Pharisees and Scribes, obedient to him, to insult and torture Jesus to the utmost of their power, and also counselled the disciples of Jesus to fly and abandon him to himself. Beelzebub hoped that the condemnation of Jesus to infamous execution, and his being reviled and deserted by all the disciples, and also that the sufferings themselves and the execution would cause Jesus at the last moment to renounce his teaching. And a recantation would destroy all its power.

This was being decided on the cross. When Jesus cried out, "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" Beelzebub was overjoyed. He snatched up the fetters prepared for Jesus, and, trying them on his own legs, proceeded to adjust them, so that when he should apply them to Jesus, they could not be undone.

Then, suddenly, from the cross came the words, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

¹ Translated by V. Tchertkoff and I. F. M.

Then Jesus cried out, "It is finished," and gave up the ghost. Beelzebub understood that all was lost. He wished to take the fetters from his legs and to flee, but he could not move from his place—the fetters had become welded on him and bound his own limbs. He wished to use his wings, but could not unfold them. And Beelzebub saw how Jesus, enveloped in a shining light, appeared at the gates of Hell, he saw how sinners from Adam to Judas came out of Hell, he saw how all the devils fled in affright, he saw the very walls of Hell silently fall to pieces on all sides. He could endure this no longer, and with a piercing shriek he fell through the rent floor to the basement.

II.

One hundred, two hundred, three hundred years passed.

Beelzebub did not count the time. Around him spread black darkness and dead silence. He lay immovable, trying not to think of what had happened, yet he could not help thinking, and he helplessly hated him who had caused his ruin.

Then suddenly—and he did not remember, nor know how many hundred years elapsed—he heard above his head sounds resembling the trampling of feet, groans, cries, and the gnashing of teeth.

Beelzebub lifted his head and listened.

That Hell could be re-established after the victory of Jesus, Beelzebub could not believe; and yet the trampling, the groans, the cries and gnashing of teeth grew louder and louder.

Beelzebub raised his body and doubled up his hairy legs with their overgrown hoofs. To his astonishment the fetters fell off of themselves, and flapping his liberated wings he gave that signal whistle by which in former times he gathered his servants and helpers around him.

He had hardly time to draw breath, when from an opening overhead red flames glared, and a crowd of devils hustling each other, rushed through the hole into the basement and seated themselves round Beelzebub like birds of prey round carrion.

These devils were big and small, stout and thin, with long and with short tails, with horns pointed straight and crooked.

One of them,—naked, but for a cape thrown over his shoulders—of a shining black color, with a round hairless face, and with an enormous pendulous belly, sat on his heels in front of Beelzebub and turned up and down his fiery eyeballs, continuously smiling and regularly wagging his long thin tail from side to side.

III.

"What does this noise signify?" said Beelzebub, pointing upwards. "What's going on there?"

"Just the same as has always gone on," answered the shining devil in the cape.

"But are there really any sinners now?" asked Beelzebub.

"Many," answered the shining one.

"But how about the teaching of him whom I do not wish to name?" asked Beelzebub.

The devil in the cape grinned, disclosing his sharp teeth, while suppressed laughter was heard amongst all the devils.

"This teaching does not hinder us. Men do not believe in it," said the devil in the cape.

"But this teaching obviously saves them from us, and he sealed it by his death," said Beelzebub.

"I have transformed it," said the devil in the cape, thumping his tail on the floor.

"How have you transformed it?"

"So that men do not believe in his teaching but in mine, which they call by his name."

"How didst thou do this?" asked Beelzebub.

"It was done of itself. I only helped."

"Tell me about it quickly," said Beelzebub.

The devil in the cape bent down his head and was silent a while, as if leisurely considering, then he said:

"When that dreadful event happened, that Hell was overthrown and our father and ruler departed from us," said he, "I went to those places where that very teaching which so nearly destroyed us was taught. I wished to see how those people lived who fulfilled it, and I saw that the people who lived according to this teaching were perfectly happy and quite out of our reach. They did not quarrel with each other, they did not give way to women's charms, and either they did not marry, or if they married they kept to one wife; they had no property, holding all as common, and they did not defend themselves against attacks, but repaid evil by good.

"Their life was so good that many were attracted to them more and more. When I saw this I thought that all was lost, and was just going to quit. But then occurred a circumstance, in itself insignificant, yet which appeared to me to deserve attention, and I remained. Amongst these people some regarded it as neces-

sary that all should undergo circumcision, and that none should eat meat offered to idols; whereas others were of opinion that these matters were not essential, and that one might abstain from circumcision and eat anything. So I began to instil into all their minds that this difference of opinion was very important, and that as the question concerned the service of God, neither side could possibly give way. They believed me, and the disputes became more obdurate. On both sides they began to be angry, and then I proceeded to instil into each of them that they might prove the truth of their teaching by miracles. Evident as it is that miracles cannot prove the truth of a teaching, yet they so desired to be in the right that they believed me, and I arranged miracles for them. It was not difficult to do this. They believed anything which supported their desire to prove that they only held the truth.

“Some said that tongues of fire descended upon them; others said that they had seen the risen body of the Master himself, and much else. They kept inventing what had never taken place, and lied in the name of him who called us liars, worse than we do ourselves—and did not know it. One party said of the other: ‘Your miracles are not genuine; ours are genuine.’ Whereupon the other retorted: ‘No, yours are a fraud; ours are real.’

“Matters were going on well, but as I was afraid they might discern the too-evident trick, I invented the ‘Church.’ Once they believed in ‘the Church,’ I was at peace. I recognised that we were saved, and that Hell was restored.”¹

¹ See the note “Count Leo Tolstoy’s Article” under the department *Miscellaneous* in the present number.

SECOND LECTURE ON BABEL AND BIBLE.

FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH.

IN EXPLANATION.

Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah ?
This that is glorious in his apparel, marching in the greatness of his strength ?
"It is I (Yahveh) that speak in righteousness, mighty to save."
Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth
in the winefat ?
"I have trodden the winepress alone ; and of the peoples there was no man
with me :
Yea, I trod them in mine anger, and trampled them in my fury ;
And their lifeblood is sprinkled upon my garments, and I have stained all my
raiment.
For the day of vengeance was in mine heart, and the year of my redemption was
come.
And I looked, and there was none to help ; and I wondered that there was none to
uphold :
Therefore mine own arm brought salvation unto me, and my fury, it upheld me.
And I trod down the peoples in anger, and made them drunk with my fury,
And I poured out their lifeblood on the earth.

In language, style, and sentiment, forsooth a genuine Bedouin song of battle and victory ! Not at all ! This utterance of Isaiah lxiii. 1-6, and a hundred other prophetic utterances full of inextinguishable hatred toward the races round about : toward Edom and Moab, Aschu and Babel, Tyre and Egypt, mostly masterpieces of Hebrew rhetoric, are to be accepted as representing the ethical prophetism of Israel, and this at its high tide ! These outpourings of political jealousy and of passionate hatred on the part of long vanished generations, born of certain contemporary conditions and perhaps comprehensible from a merely human standpoint, must serve us children of the twentieth century after Christ, must serve even Occidental and Christian races, as a religious guide for refinement and edification ! Instead of losing ourselves "in grateful admiration" in the contemplation of God's manifestation in our

own people, from primitive Germanic times down to the present day, we continue, from ignorance, indifference or blindness, to concede to those early Israelitic oracles the character of a "revelation," which cannot be justified either in the light of science or in that of religion or of ethics.

The more deeply I dive into the spirit of the prophetic writings of the Old Testament, the more I shrink from Yahveh, who slaughters the nations with the insatiable sword of his wrath, who has but one favorite child, and surrenders all other nations to night and shame and destruction, who said even to Abraham (Genesis xii. 2): "I will bless them who bless thee, and those who curse thee, them will I curse"—and I seek refuge with him who taught in life and in death: "Bless them that curse you," and I hide, full of trust and joy and earnest longing for moral perfection, in the God to whom Jesus taught us to pray, the God who is a loving and just father to all men on earth.

CHARLOTTENBURG, May 1, 1903.

THE LECTURE.

Why this opposition to "Babel and Bible" when logic itself compels this sequence of the words? And how can anyone expect to be able to suppress these serious questions, which involve the entire Bible with the catchword "Primitive Revelation," when this is shown to be false by a single forgotten verse of the Old Testament? And does in fact "the ethical monotheism of Israel" in its function as "a real revelation of the living God," constitute the unassailable bulwark in the conflict of opinions which Babel has aroused in these later days?

It is a pity that so many people permit their delight in the great advantage which Babel is constantly offering us as "interpreter and illustrator" of the Bible to be spoiled by a narrow regard for dogmatic questions to such a degree that they even entirely ignore that advantage. And yet, how grateful all readers of and commentators on the Bible must needs be for the new knowledge which has been revealed, and is constantly being revealed, to us by the laborious excavations among the ruins of Babylon and Assyria!

On principle I too avoid continually speaking of "confirmations" of the Bible. For indeed the Old Testament as a source of ancient history would be in a bad case if it required everywhere confirmation by cuneiform inscriptions. But when the Biblical Book of Kings (2 Kings xvii. 30) states that the inhabitants of the

city of Kutha who settled in Samaria worshipped the god Nergal, and we now know, not alone that this Babylonian city of Kutha lies buried under the ruins at Tell Ibrahim, twenty-one miles north-east of Babylon, but also that a cuneiform inscription expressly informs us that the patron god of Kutha was called Nergal,—this is really valuable information.

While there seemed to be no prospect of ever discovering the town and district of Chalach, to which a portion of the Israelites taken captive by Sargon were transplanted (2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 11), we now possess, from the library of Asurbanipal at Nineveh,



Fig. 1 BLACK OBELISK
OF SHALMANESER II

Fig. 2 ASSYRIAN LETTER.
Written from Chalach, the Babylonian home of
the exiled Israelites.

a letter written from Chalach (Fig. 2), in which a certain Marduk-nadin-achi, laying emphasis upon his steadily manifested loyalty, petitions the king to help him regain his estate, which had been given him by the king's father, and which had supported him for fourteen years until at last the governor of the land of Mashalzi had taken it from him.

As to the inhabitants of the northern kingdom of Israel, who are presented to our eyes so vividly by the famous black obelisk of Shalmaneser II. (Fig. 1) in its second row of relief figures (Figs. 3-6)—they are the ambassadors of King Jehu (840 B. C.) with



Fig 4

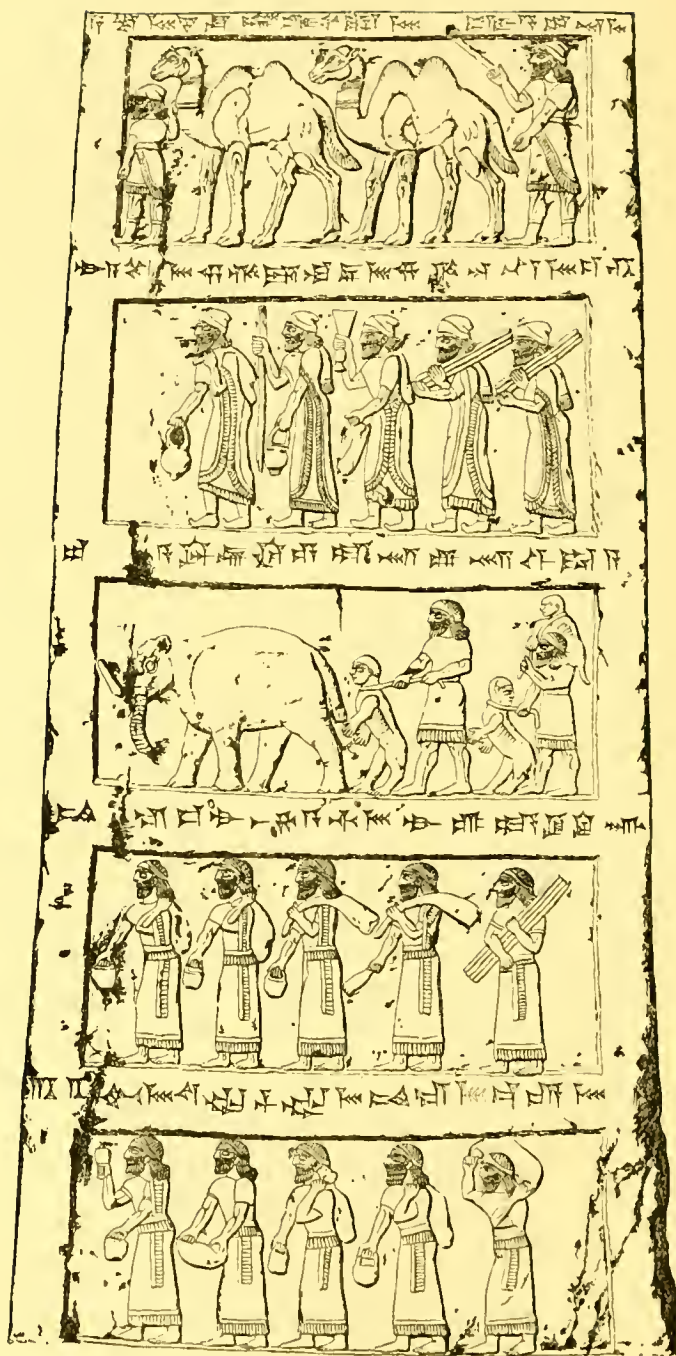


Fig 5



Fig. 6.

gifts of various sorts,—we now know all three of the localities where the ten tribes found their grave: Chalach, somewhat farther east than the mountainous source of the upper Zab, called Arrapachitis; the province of Goshen along the Chabor probably not far from Nisibis; and thirdly, the villages of Media.

Until recent times the conquest and plundering of Egyptian Thebes mentioned by the prophet Nahum (iii. 8 ff.) has been a puzzle, so that no one knew to what the words of the prophet referred:

“Art thou (Nineveh) better than No-amon (i. e., Thebes), that is situate in the waters of the Nile, with waters round about her . . . ? Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity; her young children were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets, and they cast lots for her honorable men, and all her great men were bound in chains.”

But then there was discovered at Nineveh the magnificent ten-sided clay prism of Asurbanipal (Fig. 7), which reports in its second column that it was Asurbanipal who, pursuing the Egyptian king Urdamanê from Memphis, reached Thebes, conquered it and carried away silver, gold, and precious stones, the entire treasure of the palace, the inhabitants, male and female, a great and immeasurable booty, from Thebes to Nineveh, the city of his dominion.

And how much the language of the Old Testament is indebted to the cuneiform literature! The Old Testament mentions repeatedly an animal called re'em, a fierce, untamable animal armed with fearful horns (Psalms xxii. 22) and most nearly related to the ox (Deuteronomy xxxiii. 17; Psalms xxix. 6; comp. Isaiah xxxiv. 7), to use which in field labor on the plain like a common ox seems to the poet of the Book of Job (xxxix. 9 ff.) a terrible, an inconceivable thought: “Will the wild ox be content to serve thee, or will he abide by thy crib? Canst thou bind the wild ox with his guiding-band in thy furrow? Or will he harrow the valleys after thee?”

Despite the fact that the buffalo now roams in herds the for-

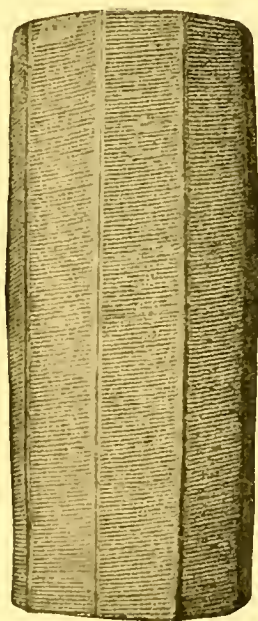


Fig. 7. ASSURBANIPAL'S TEN-SIDED CLAY PRISM.

ests beyond the Jordan, it was nevertheless diffused over Asia Minor from Arachosia only a short time before the beginning of our era; hence it had become customary as a result of comparison with Arabian usage, which styles the antelopes "cattle of the des-

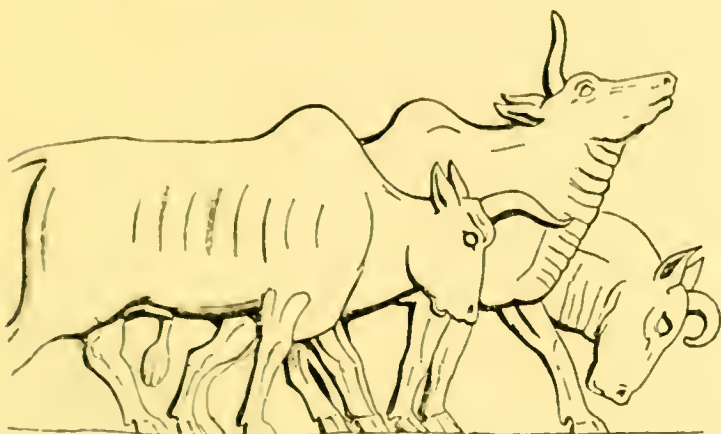


Fig. 8. THE RE'EM, OR WILD BULL.

(After a bas-relief in the palace of Sennacherib.)

ert" and applies the name *ri'm* to *antelope leukoryx*, to understand under the Hebrew re'em this species of antelope. But as this antelope, despite its long, sharp horns, is a slender-limbed and soft-eyed creature, it was beyond comprehension how it should occur



Fig. 9 HUNTING THE RE'EM.

to a poet to imagine it hitched to a plow and then to shudder at the thought.

The cuneiform inscriptions have informed us what the *rēmu* is: it is the powerful, fierce-eyed wild ox with stout curved horns, an animal of the wood and the mountain, which scales the highest

summits, an animal of tremendous physical strength, the chase for which, like that for the lion, was especially popular with the Assyrian kings on account of its hazardousness. The presence of this animal, which is most closely related to the *bos urus* of Cæsar (Bell. Gall. VI. 28) and to the *wisent* (bison) of Middle-High-German literature, is scientifically established for the region of Mt. Lebanon: the cuneiform inscriptions mention the ré'em countless times, and the alabaster reliefs of the Assyrian royal palace present it very clearly to our eyes. (Fig. 9.)

King Nebuchadnezzar reports that he adorned the city gate of Babylon which is dedicated to the goddess Istar with burned bricks upon which were represented rêmus and gigantic serpents standing



Fig. 10. THE HILL OF BÂBIL.

upright. The rediscovery of this Istar Gate and its excavation to a depth of fourteen meters, where the underflow begins, constitutes one of the most valuable achievements of recent years in our exploration of the ruins of Babylon.

Hail to thee, thou hill of Bâbil (Fig. 10), and to all thy fellows on the palm-bordered banks of the Euphrates! (Fig. 11.) How the heartbeats quicken when, after weeks of picking and shoveling under the glowing sunbeams of the East, suddenly the structure that has been sought is revealed, when upon a giant block of stone covered with characters the name "Istar Gate" is read, and gradually the great double gate of Babylon, flanked northward on each side by three mighty towers, rises in a splendid state of preservation from the bowels of the earth! And wherever you may look,

on the surfaces of the towers as well as upon the inner walls of the gateway, droves of *rêmus* carved in relief, the uppermost row in



Fig. 12. THE WILD BULL (RE'EM) ON THE ISTAR GATE.
Brick mosaic in enameled colors.

brilliant contemporary enamel, standing forth in fascinating splendor of colors against the deep blue background. (Fig. 12.)

“Vigorously strides the wild ox with long paces, with proudly curved neck, with horns pointed threateningly forward, ears laid

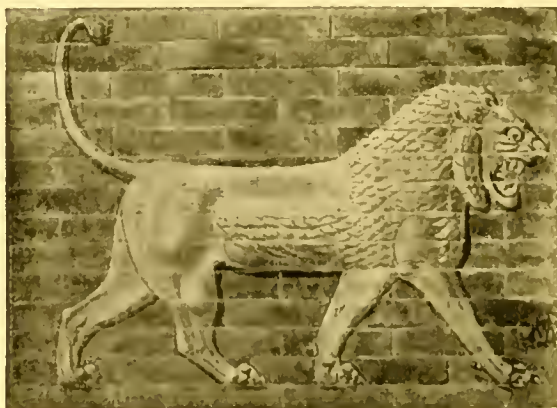


Fig. 13. THE LION OF BABYLON.
Brick mosaic in enameled colors.

back, and inflated nostrils; his muscles are tense and swelling, his tail raised and yet falling stiffly downwards,—all as in Nature, but

idealised "1 Where the smooth hide is white, horns and hoofs shine like gold; where the hide is yellow, these are of malachite green, while in both kinds the long hair is colored dark blue. But a truly imposing effect is produced by a white ox in relief, in which the long hair, as well as the horns and hoofs, is tinted a delicate green. Thus the re'em of the Istar Gate through which led the triumphal highway of Marduk proves to be a worthy companion for the widely known "lion of Babylon" which adorned the triumphal highway itself. (Fig. 13.)

And Biblical science is enriched by still another animal of the strangest sort, a fabulous animal, familiar to us from the days of our youthful religious instruction, and which could not fail to make a fascinating impression upon all who passed through the Istar



Fig. 14 THE DRAGON OF BABEL
Enameled brick mosaic.

Gate toward the palace of Nebuchadnezzar,—I refer to the Dragon of Babel. (Fig. 14.) "With neck stretched far forward and looks darting poison the monster marches along,"—it is a serpent, as is shown by the elongated head with its forked tongue, the long, scale-covered trunk and the wriggling tail, but at the same time it has the fore-legs of the panther while its hind-legs are armed with monstrous talons; in addition to all this it has on its head long, straight horns and a scorpion's sting in the end of its tail. Thanks are due to all whose faithful labor contributes to secure such choice and exceedingly important archæological treasures!

Quite apart from many such individual interpretations and illustrations, Assyriology is restoring confidence in the authenticity

¹ From a treatise on these relief figures by Walter Andraë.

of the text of the Old Testament, which has for some time been so violently assailed. For, finding itself constantly face to face with more and more difficult texts full of rare words and phrases, it realises that there are also in the Old Testament scriptures great numbers of rare and even unique words and phrases; it takes delight in these, attempts to interpret them from their context, and in not a few cases finds its efforts rewarded by the presence of these very same words and phrases in Assyrian. In this manner it recognises what a fatal error it is on the part of modern exegesis to make conjectural interpretations of such rare words and difficult phrases, to "emend" them, and only too frequently to replace them with meaningless substitutes. In truth every friend of the Old Testament scriptures should assist with all his might in bringing to light the thousands of clay tablets and all other sorts of written monuments that lie buried in Babylon, and which our expedition will bring to light as soon as the first objects set before it are accomplished, thereby making possible for the textual interpretation of the Old Testament more rapid and more important progress than it has experienced within the two thousand years preceding.

Indeed, entire narratives of the Old Testament receive their interpretation from Babylon. In our early youth we inherit the burden of the foolish notion of a Nebuchadnezzar who was turned into a beast; for the Book of Daniel tells us (iv. 26-34) how the King of Babylon walked upon the roof of his palace, and after feasting his eyes once more on the splendor of the city he had built, received from heaven the prophecy that he should live, an exile from among men, with the beasts of the field and after the fashion of the beasts. Thereupon, according to account, Nebuchadnezzar ate grass in the wilderness like unto an ox, wet by the dew of heaven, while his hair grew like unto the feathers of the eagle and his finger-nails like unto birds' claws.

Yet no educator of youth should ever have ventured to teach such things, and especially not after the appearance of Eberhard Schrader's treatise on *The Insanity of Nebuchadnezzar*, without at the same time pointing out the fact that the purer and more primitive form of this story has long been known in a Chaldaean legend transmitted to us in Abydenus. This tells us that Nebuchadnezzar, after reaching the zenith of his power, went out upon the roof of his palace, where, inspired by a god, he exclaimed: "I here, Nabuchodrosor, announce to you the coming of the calamity which neither Bel nor Queen Beltis can persuade the Fates to avert. Perses (that is, Cyrus) will come . . . and bring servitude upon

you. O would that he, before my fellow-citizens perish, might be driven through the desert, where neither cities nor the track of men can be found, but where wild beasts graze and birds fly about, while he wanders about solitary in caves and gorges. But may a better lot . . . befall me."

Who could fail to perceive in this that the Hebrew writer has made a free version of the Babylonian legend, especially since he lets us see plainly in verse 16 that the very wording of the original was quite familiar to him! What Nebuchadnezzar wishes for the enemy of the Chaldeans, this the author of the pamphlets full of errors and carelessness which are combined to make the Book of Daniel has Nebuchadnezzar suffer himself, in order to exemplify as drastically as possible to his countrymen, who were being persecuted by Antiochus Epiphanes, the truth that God the Lord is able to humble deeply even the mightiest king who rebels against Yahveh.

When shall we finally learn to distinguish the form from the content even within the covers of the Old Testament?

The author of the Book of Jonah preaches to us two lofty doctrines: that no one can escape from God, and that no mortal dare presume to dictate terms to God's mercy and patience, or even to set limits for them. But the form in which these truths are clothed is human, is fancifully Oriental, and if we should continue to believe to-day that Jonah while in the whale's belly prayed a conglomeration of passages from the Psalms, part of which were not composed until several centuries after the destruction of Nineveh, or that the King of Nineveh did such deep penance that he gave commands even to oxen and sheep to put on sackcloth, we should be sinning against the reason bestowed upon us by God.

But all these are details which sink into insignificance under an intenser light.

It was an exceedingly happy thought which struck the representatives of the various German ecclesiastical bodies who went to Jerusalem as guests of the German Emperor to take part in the dedication of the Church of Our Saviour, that of founding in Jerusalem a "German Evangelical Institute for the Archæology of the Holy Land." O would that our young theologians might go thither, and not merely in the cities, but better still out in the desert, familiarise themselves with the manners and customs of the Bedouins, which are still so completely the same as in the times of Ancient Israel, and plunge deeply into the Oriental mode of thought and expression: might listen to the story-tellers in the tents of the

desert or hear the descriptions and accounts of the sons of the desert themselves, full of fancy that bubbles up vigorous and unhampered and only too often exceeds unconsciously the bounds of fact!

And if even the modern Orient, wherever we go and listen and look, furnishes such an abundance of suggestions for the interpretation of the Bible, how much more will this be the case with the study of the ancient literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians which is in part contemporary with the Old Testament! Everywhere there are more or less important agreements between the two literatures which are most closely related in language and style, in mode of thought and expression.

I will cite here the sacredness of the number seven as well as that of the number three, for which we have evidence in both literatures: "Land, land, land, hear the word of the Lord," exclaims Jeremiah (xxii. 29); "Hail, hail, hail to the king, my lord," more than one Assyrian scribe begins his letter. And as the seraphim before the throne of God call one to another: "Holy, holy, holy is Yahveh Zebaoth" (Isaiah vi. 3), so we read at the beginning of the Assyrian temple liturgy a threefold *asur*, that is, "salutary," or "holy."

"God created man out of the dust of the earth and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life and man became a living soul,"—thus runs the so-called Yahvistic account of creation (Genesis ii. 7). The very same conceptions are found among the Babylonians: man is formed of earth (mud, clay), as for instance Eabani is created out of a pinched off and moistened piece of clay (compare Job xxxiii. 6: "I too am made of a pinch of clay"), and for that reason he returns again thither (so Genesis iii. 19); but he becomes a living being through the breath of God. In the opening of a letter to the Assyrian king the writers characterise themselves as "dead dogs" (compare 2 Samuel ix. 8), whom the king, their master, had caused to live by "putting the breath of life into their nostrils."

According to Babylonian notions the spittle of human beings possesses in a marked degree magic power. Spittle and spells are closely related conceptions, and spittle has death-dealing as well as life-giving power. "O Marduk,"—thus runs a prayer to the patron deity of Babel,—“O Marduk! thine is the spittle of life!” Who is not reminded by this of New Testament narratives such as that of Jesus taking the deaf and dumb man aside, putting his fingers in his ears, spitting and touching the man's tongue with the

spittle, saying "Hephata," "Be opened!" (Mark vii. 33 ff., and compare viii. 23, John ix. 6 ff.)

Yahveh conducts his people on the march through the desert by means of a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night (comp. also Isaiah iv. 5); but Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, before setting out upon a campaign, also receives the prophetic message: "I, Istar of Arbela, will cause to rise upon thy right hand smoke and upon thy left fire."

"Set thine house in order," says the prophet Isaiah to King Hezekiah when he is sick unto death, "for thou art sick and wilt not live" (Isaiah xxxviii. 1), while the Assyrian general Kudurru, to whom the king has sent his own personal physician, thanks the king with the words: "I was dead, but the king, my lord, has made me to live." The soul of a man sick unto death is conceived as already straying in the underworld, has already gone down into the pit (Psalms xxx. 4). For this reason the goddess Gula, the patron genius of physicians, has the title "Awakener of the dead": an Oriental physician who did not raise people from the dead would be no physician at all.

How great the similarity between all things in Babel and Bible! Here as well as there the fondness for rendering speech and thought vivid by symbolical actions (I cite here merely the scapegoat which is chased away into the desert); here as well as there the same world of constant wonders and signs, of perpetual revelations of the divinity, particularly through dreams, the same naïve conceptions of the divinity! As in Babel the gods eat and drink and even retire to rest, so Yahveh goes walking in Paradise in the cool of the evening, or takes delight in the smell of Noah's sacrifice. And just as in the Old Testament Yahveh speaks to Moses and Aaron and to all the prophets, so also in Babel the gods speak to men, either directly or through the mouth of their priests and divinely inspired prophets and prophetesses.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

JOHN WESLEY POWELL.

VI. THE PROMOTOR OF RESEARCH.

BY G. K. GILBERT.

THE preceding chapter outlines the results of Powell's personal investigations as they appear in his published writings. The story would be but half told if no mention were made of the results of his labors as the administrator of scientific trusts. The investigator is apt to be a specialist, concentrating his attention on a single subject to the practical exclusion of all others, and by that specialisation incapacitated for executive work. Powell, however, is eminently a man of affairs. Whether his generalisations and theories are sound and true is a question that may be left to the verdict of posterity, but his contemporaries have recognised and declared his eminent ability as an organiser and administrator of scientific work. A multitude of minor responsibilities may be here neglected, but four important trusts must be mentioned, each involving either the direction or the practical guidance of a body of scientific work. The Survey of the Colorado River, which expanded from 1872 to 1879 into the Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, gradually developed three corps of scientific assistants—a corps of topographers, a corps of geologists, and a corps of ethnologists. The ethnologic work, although but slightly endowed, grew to such importance that in one of the later years of the Survey Professor Henry, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, placed at Powell's disposal the accumulated ethnographic material in the archives of the Smithsonian and gave him direction of all ethnographic work carried on in coöperation with the Institution.

When the surveys were reorganised in 1879 the ethnologic work was continued by the constitution of a Bureau of Ethnology, and Powell has been continuously the Director of that Bureau. The Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region published four quarto

volumes entitled *Contributions to the North American Ethnology*, and its successor has printed nineteen thick annual reports, four quarto monographs, and twenty-five bulletins.

In 1879 a few citizens of Washington proposed to organise an archæologic society, and to this end called a meeting of scientific men of the city. Members of the Bureau of Ethnology, foreseeing the growth of Washington as a scientific center and the eventual need of a society whose scope should include not only prehistoric but living man, thought it unfortunate that the ground should be partially occupied by an association restricted to the narrower view, and invoked the aid of their friends to effect a change in the character of the new project. Their endeavor was successful, and the meeting called to organise a society of archæology created instead a society of anthropology. Powell was chosen president, and held the office until 1882, when he retired temporarily, on account of ill health. He was re-elected in 1884, and in succeeding years until 1887, making a total incumbency of seven years.

From 1881 to 1894 he was also Director of the United States Geological Survey.

Before the direction of ethnologic work fell into Powell's hands the subject already engaged the attention, partial or entire, of a large number of persons throughout the United States. Missionaries among the Indians studied their languages for purposes of communication, and prepared vocabularies. They sometimes made manuscript record also of Indian traditions and mythic stories. Army officers on frontier posts and other persons whose occupations brought them in contact with Indians, were led by curiosity or by scientific tastes to collect the various articles employed and produced in their arts and to make note of their ceremonies and other customs. The stone implements and shards of pottery so widely scattered over the surface of the land, the mounds of the East and the Pueblo ruins of the West, attracted much attention and were the theme of a fragmentary literature. Here and there a philologist or an ethnologist gave to the subject systematic study, but most of the observation was desultory and of a dilettante rather than scientific character. Since the days of the ethnologist Galatin the Smithsonian Institution had been a depository for recorded vocabularies of Indian languages and various descriptive manuscripts, and some of these it had published. It was Powell's work to organise this scattered and desultory observation, to give it a systematic plan with definite ends in view, to inform it with scientific method, and to give it a needed stimulus by making provision

for the publication of results. The funds granted him by Congress from time to time were not as a rule expended on salaries, although the Bureau has slowly acquired a permanent corps, but were given in small grants to scattered workers as a means of increasing their facilities. A large number of persons who were already interested in ethnologic work were provided with the money necessary to meet the expenses of specified undertakings, or payments were made for manuscripts prepared. Others whose occupations afforded them leisure and local opportunity were enlisted in the work and received nominal compensation, not amounting to a salary.

The class of observation to which most attention was given was linguistic. The *Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages* contained not only a code of instructions but an elaborate set of blanks for the recording of Indian vocabularies; this was widely distributed, and with it went an alphabet specially prepared for the purpose, thus enabling the observers to record in a uniform manner the sounds of Indian tongues, many of which are foreign not only to the English but to all European languages. The work of the permanent assistants of the Bureau has been of two kinds: First, a number of students of special branches, largely linguistic, have been enabled through the funds of the Bureau to devote their entire time to research and to extend their studies to minute details. Second, there have been carried forward works of generalisation and correlation transcending the means of most private individuals and possibly transcending the patience of the unsalaried. One of these is the compilation of a *Bibliography of North American Linguistics*—the segregation once for all of the references to books required by the students who would monograph the subject of an Indian tongue. Another general work is the classification of linguistic stocks and the compilation of a synonymy or dictionary of all the names that have been used to designate Indian languages or Indian tribes. The number of Indian languages is very large, but certain groups of these are shown, by the existence of many common words or words closely related, to be descendants of the same original tongue. The members of such a group are said to belong to the same linguistic stock, and between two linguistic stocks there are no similarities indicative of common origin. The number of linguistic stocks in North America north of Mexico now for the first time approximately known is about sixty.

All of the work of the Bureau was impregnated with the philosophic views of its chief. The work he initiated was carried on by methods of his formulation, and the larger share of the work he

fostered and endowed had the continuous benefit of his counsel and suggestion.

The influence of his conversation and informal discussion was equally perceptible in the proceedings of the Anthropological Society. Rarely was a paper presented in whose discussion he did not participate; and it was his function, as presiding officer, to point out the bearing of the specific contribution on the larger philosophy of the subject—to assign it its place in the scientific scheme. To him is largely due the tone of the society—the prevailing dignity and earnestness of its proceedings, and the rareness of those laborious records of trivial observations whose discussion has been caricatured in the proceedings of the Pickwick Club. The work of the Society and that of the Bureau are closely related, for the Society is the arena for the discussion of the problems developed in the work of the Bureau; but the Society includes also a large independent membership and discusses a broader range of subjects.

When the Geological Survey was placed in charge of Major Powell, its scientific work was divided chiefly on a geographic basis. A number of geographic districts had been constituted, and each was in charge of a geologist-in-chief who directed all of the work within the district, including general and economic geology, topography, chemistry, etc. Powell made no abrupt change, but he gradually substituted for this a radically different organisation, one in which a geologist versed in a special branch of the subject superintended work only in that department in which all geographic work was under a single chief of division, in which paleontology had a division by itself, with subdivisions delimited by biotic and geologic lines, in which chemistry, lithology, glacial geology, and various other special topics were assigned to corps or individuals, each of whom had the territory of the United States as his field. Geographic lines were still used for the subdivision of the two principal bodies of work, the geography and the general or stratigraphic geology; but in all other respects the kind of work to be done was the basis of organisation.

The Geological Survey is a large government bureau. In most of the bureaus at Washington it is the function of the chiefs to decide questions that arise. The business they transact originates elsewhere, and their action is magisterial or judicial. As chief of the Geological Survey Powell too performed these functions, but he likewise took the initiative to an exceptional extent. Details were arranged by his chiefs of divisions, but the general plans were

his, and he was personally conversant with the nature and tendencies of all the work of research. Partly by explicit instructions, but to a greater extent by suggestion, he furnished hypotheses to younger men, and thus guided their work.

The financial, clerical, and other accessory work of the Survey was as thoroughly organized, as the scientific work and its business methods contributed greatly to the confidence of legislators in its chief. In his endeavors to secure desired legislation in regard to scientific research he was brought in constant relation with Members of Congress, and their reliance on his judgment and resources was attested by frequent official requests for information on subjects not intimately related to the Survey work. Powell's communications in response to such inquiries and his testimony before committees of investigation constitute a body of literature comparable in bulk with his scientific writings. Though it is the business of Congress to enact only general laws, it is nevertheless its practice to diminish the functions of ill-conducted bureaus and increase the powers of efficient bureau officers. During Powell's administration the field of work of the Geological Survey, at first restricted to the Western Territories, was extended to the entire United States, and the amount of money appropriated for the conduct of its operations was increased from \$150,000 in 1881 to \$500,000 in 1894.

Yet another institution of Washington is partially indebted to Powell for its existence. He was one of the first to suggest and advocate the foundation of a social club for the use of the scientific men, and the preliminary meetings were held at his residence. The reorganization of western surveys was then in progress, the jealousies of rival factions being at their height, and there were some who held aloof, suspicious of a deep-laid plot. But the club was born, grew, and prospered nevertheless, and by affording Washington scientists an opportunity for frequent intercourse under pleasant auspices, has contributed greatly to the abolition of jealousy and suspicion and the promotion of harmony and coöperation. Washington is as truly the scientific center of the United States as it is the political center, though in a different sense, and the solidarity of its scientific community is of great value as an aid in securing the generous endowment and the wise administration of such departments of research as may legitimately be undertaken by the Government.

It is customary for biographers of scientific men to recite by way of peroration the learned societies to whose officers or membership they have been elected, the academic degrees conferred on

them, and the various testimonials and honors by which their scientific rank has been acknowledged. Powell has not been neglected in these respects; but as his friend I do not feel it my privilege, as it certainly is not my desire, to do that which would have offended his democratic taste. In his estimation the wearing of medals, decorations, and insignia savored of the creation of an aristocracy of science; from my standpoint as a biographer a catalogue of honors conferred would belittle my theme. Some men are magnified by titles and diplomas, by medals and ribbons; others do not need them. On Powell's true honor list are the Bureau of Ethology, the United States Geological Survey, the base-level of erosion, and a philosophy of human evolution.

MAJOR J. W. POWELL.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF ONE OF HIS STAFF.

BY MARCUS BAKER.

IN person the Major, as every one called him, was of medium height and as a young man rather slight. He told me how, at the time of the battle of Shiloh, where he lost his right forearm, his superior officer, General W. H. L. Wallace, a tall and handsome soldier, mounted on a fine large chestnut thoroughbred, seeing him wounded and the enemy closing in, said: "Here, Lieutenant, we're going to be captured in a few minutes; get onto my horse and go back to the landing at once." So saying, General Wallace dismounted, and, strong-armed as he was, picked up this mere boy-lieutenant who might have weighed 125 lbs., set him in the saddle and sent him away. It was only a few minutes later that this noble officer received his death-wound. Midst the hissing and singing of bullets and screeching of shells Powell galloped back to the landing, about half a mile distant, the red blood spurt- ing from his wounded arm, and soon arrived white and faint. Thence he was taken off to one of the nearby Union gun-boats where the presence and tender care of his young wife brought the prompt attention to his wound that probably saved his life.

The battle over, he was, with others, sent "up the river" to a hospital, from which after some weeks he returned to his command engaged in the operations about Vicksburg. Some years after the war was over, he applied for a pension. Accordingly his record was examined by the pension officers, who found him not pension- able, as the record showed him to be a deserter [!], having been for some weeks after the battle of Shiloh "absent from his com- mand without leave." This absence covered the time when he was in the hospital. Explanations followed, the proper evidence se- cured, the record corrected, and the pension granted. This inci-

dent, however, permanently affected his views as to the evidence in pension cases and made him lenient toward defects in the record. It is so easy, he would say, for a worthy claimant to lack proofs destroyed by war and time. And his sympathetic nature, added to his experience, made him believe that more worthy pension claims were rejected than unworthy ones allowed.

With passing years he grew stouter and heavier. Beside the natural tendency perhaps this was hastened or increased by lack of exercise enforced by the wounded arm, which was tender and frequently painful for so many years. Often in later years prior to the third and last surgical operation, from which complete relief was had, the left hand would almost unconsciously or mechanically take hold of and support the tender stump. Especially was it so if walking or doing anything that gave even a slight jar to the body. So he walked little and rode much. Always fond of horses, he did much riding in buggy and saddle up to the last few years. When engaged in his western surveys, he was loath to let the driver drive, preferring himself to mount the box and with his one hand manage the four-horse team over the rough and trackless regions where his work lay. An early riser, he often had his party on the road at or before daylight, and his early rising habit continued to the end.

In appearance, as we saw him from day to day in the high noon and afternoon of his busy life, he was of medium height, rather stout, deliberate in speech and action, with long full brown beard, prominent eyebrows, deep-set half-closed eyes that had a merry twinkle in them, a noble forehead and loose unkempt hair brushed back and never parted. In manner dignified, affable, courteous, in dress careless but not slovenly, in his soft felt hat, he seemed too much absorbed in his work and philosophy to think of his dress. A constant smoker, he seemed never conscious of the cigar's presence but only of its absence.

It was in the full activity of his middle life that I first met him, when the newly created United States Geological Survey was young and when organisation, methods, plans, policy, and administration were live and burning questions. Into these he plunged with a zeal and an energy that were infectious and which inspired in his associates perfect confidence and a loyal and devoted following. In those days, and particularly during the Congressional investigation of the Hydrographic Office, Weather Bureau, Coast Survey, and Geological Survey in 1885-1886, large drafts were made on the time, strength, and energies of his—I will not say subordinates,

though such they were, but rather upon his—associates and companions, for such he always made them. But no amount of work by any of his comrades could equal that of their leader, whose capacity for work seemed unlimited. Nights, Sundays, holidays were forgotten in the zeal to do the many things that pressed in upon the man who had a reputation for doing things. In the midst of it all, however, his door was always open. He did not appear to hurry, however swift the work in hand went forward, and never showed irritation at the ceaseless interruption entailed by being readily accessible to all comers. He was in this respect like our martyr-president Lincoln who, when the furrows were deepening in his face as the great war wore on, and his faithful helpers sought to persuade him to deny himself to a part of the great throng that sought for interviews, listened kindly and then said as his face lighted up: "They don't want much and they don't get much; I guess I'd better see them." This was the spirit that always prevailed about "the Major's" busy office.

In a high degree Major Powell had the faculty of stimulating his followers and helping them to accomplish the best that was in them. His directions never appeared to be orders. He seemed to be a companion discussing and suggesting plans rather than a director prescribing a course of action, and this practice to those accustomed to different conditions was most stimulating.

He was ever prone to draw from his associates their views and then in a few sentences to lead them to broader ones and to kindle enthusiasm for these wider views. Great as was his personal work, yet much greater was that which owed its inception to his own fruitful suggestion. He rarely printed anything without first submitting it to one or several of his associates for criticism, both destructive and constructive. "Now go for it," he would say, and sometimes add with a twinkle under his shaggy brows, "or ever after hold your peace." The usual outcome of such criticism was not a change of view but rather the reply, "I see I have not made that plain; I must expand it."

If the Major engaged in reminiscence, as he sometimes did, there was often a deeper purpose than mere story-telling or entertainment. There was a principle or a lesson involved, but it was never obtrusive. On one occasion when dining at my house he met a newly appointed Chief of Bureau, one new to Washington and its methods. The conversation turning on administration, he outlined in a few clear, terse sentences the characteristics and methods of five secretaries under whom he had served. "One," said he,

"cleared up his table every night, and so made mistakes. Another carefully weighed everything brought to him, and thus was overwhelmed with details and business impeded;" and so on of others. "But as to one," said he, "the best of all, he met all matters brought to him by his bureau chiefs with the same question, viz., "Is that a bureau question or a department question?" If it was a department question, he gave to it his undivided attention and profound study. Then he decided and his decisions were right; they have withstood the tests of experience and are the rules of the Department to this day."

More and more, as time passed, his interests and thoughts turned toward philosophical reflection and study, and when his chief burden of administration was laid down in 1894 and the care of the Geological Survey was turned over to another, he entered upon the closing chapter of his varied and busy life.

It was about this time that some of his intimate friends arranged to have a bust made of him. Mr. U. S. J. Dunbar had at this time a studio in the Corcoran Building, and here Powell gave sittings to this artist who in the course of a few weeks produced a clay bust which was generally approved as a faithful and satisfactory portrayal. Later a new bust was cast in bronze and is now in the Library of the United States Geological Survey.

During the sittings I was always with him and generally read aloud from something he liked. One thing read was Ruskin's Essays, and as the reading proceeded he would interpret, analyse, and criticise, pointing out the author's strength, weakness, and limitations. Poetry also interested him, and we read Tam O'Shanter, which he knew by heart.

Such were the traits of this strong and noble character as they appeared to one who for a decade was very near to and in confidential relations with him. I count it one of my pieces of special good fortune to have so long enjoyed the intimate friendship of so helpful, so stimulating, so ennobling a companion as Major John Wesley Powell.

THE WIDOW'S TWO MITES.

BY THE EDITOR.

WE find in the Gospel according to St. Luke, Chapter xxi. 1-4, the story of the two mites of the widow, which in its simple beauty reads as follows :

"And he looked up, and he saw the rich men casting their gifts into the treasury.

"And he saw also a certain poor widow casting in thither two mites.

"And he said, Of a truth I say unto you, that this poor widow hath cast in more than they all :

"For all these have of their abundance cast in unto the offerings of God : but she of her penury hath cast in all the living that she had."

Mark preserves the same story almost literally in the same form, in Chapter xii., 42, and we may fairly assume that the latter has taken it from the former, that the passage in Luke is the original and that it has been inserted by later copyists from the Gospel of Luke. Albert J. Edmunds has proved that the Gospel of Luke is full of parallels to Buddhist scriptures, and the story of the two mites is one of the most striking accounts having an analogous story in Buddhist literature. Mark is the older Gospel, and the frame-work of Mark can be traced back to an account of a life of Jesus which may be based on reminiscences of an eye-witness. This oldest part of Mark, commonly called by German scholars *Urmarkus* (i. e., original Mark), was utilised also by the authors of the other synoptic Gospels, Luke and Matthew ; accordingly, it is probable that if the original Mark had contained the story of the two mites it would have found its way also into the Gospel according to Matthew.

We know that the institutions of the Jewish temple were not based upon a system of voluntary donations except when sacrifices were made to the temple at Jerusalem. The priesthood was maintained by tithes, that is the tenth of the harvest's yield and other definitely prescribed taxes ; and we know nothing of charitable con-

tributions in the house of God, which have become customary only in Christian churches among the Gentiles. The Ebionites, the Nazarenes, and other sects of Judea were in the habit of receiving alms, but their institutions were decidedly un-Jewish, and the members of the Nazarene sect, as we know from the passages in the Acts of the Apostles, had to surrender their entire wealth on entering the congregation,—a statement which (on the supposition that the Nazarenes are identical with or similar to the Essenes) is fully borne out by the testimony of Philo, Josephus, Pliny, and Tacitus.

Matters were different among the Buddhists. The Buddhist sangha is entirely maintained by voluntary offerings, and the institution of making offerings is well established since the foundation of Buddhism. This speaks in favor of a Buddhist origin of the story.

It is noteworthy that the Buddhist story of the two mites presents an exact parallel, even to the coincidence that the poor woman deposits two mites, that is, two copper pence, and that she gives all that she has, all her living.

We know the Buddhist version of the story through Aṣva-ghosha, a Buddhist saint and philosopher who flourished in the first century of the Christian era, and his tale is obviously second-hand. It lacks the classical simplicity of the Gospel version and reads in Samuel Beal's translation as follows:

"I heard that there was once a lone woman who, having gone to the mountain *Chau-ngan* (day-dull), beheld the men on the mountain holding a religious assembly called the *Paochavarsha pārishat*.¹ Then the woman, having begged some food in the crowd, beholding the priests, was filled with joy, and uttering her praises, said, 'It is well, holy priests! but whilst others give precious things such as the ocean caves produce, I a pauper have nothing to give.' Having spoken thus and searched herself in vain for something to give, she recollected that some time before she had found in a dung-heap two mites (copper mites), so taking these forthwith she offered them as a gift to the priesthood in charity. At this time the president (*Sthavira*), who had arrived at the condition of a Saint (*Rahat*), and so could read the motives (heart) of men, disregarding the rich gifts of others and beholding the deep principle of faith dwelling in the heart of this poor woman, and wishing the priesthood to esteem rightly her religious merit, [at once and] without waiting to take up his lute, with full voice burst forth with the following canto, as he raised his right hand and said, 'Reverend priests attend!' and then he proceeded:

" 'The mighty earth and vast ocean,
 Whatever treasures they contain,
 According to this woman's intention
 Are all bestowed in charity on the priesthood.

¹ That is, a quinquennial assembly.

With careful mind and pious consideration,
 Practising herself in the discharge of good works,
 She has reached the goal of deliverance,
 And utterly put away all covetous and selfish aims.'

"At this time the woman was mightily strengthened in her mind as she thought, 'It is even as the Teacher says, what I do is as difficult as for him who gives up all his treasures'; and then, exulting in the act although sorrowing on account of her poverty, she prostrated herself before the priests and offered her two mites to the president, weeping as she did so and cast down in heart, and then she recited the following lines :

" ' May I through all successive births
 Escape such poverty as now afflicts me !
 Enjoying for ever such happiness (as plenty brings),
 With friends and relations in equal condition.
 I now offer in charity priestly-fruit,
 May Buddha rightly discern (my aim) ;
 And as the result of this religious act,
 May I soon obtain answer to my prayer.
 The good and pious intention of my heart,
 May it result soon in outward prosperity.'

"Then the woman having left the mountain, sat down beneath a tree, whilst a cloud canopy above her sheltered her without intermission from the sun.

"Now at this time the king of the country, having just performed the funeral obsequies of the queen, was walking abroad to see the country, when observing the cloud canopy, he went to the tree over which it rested, and there seeing the woman, his mind was filled with love."

We are further told that the King took the poor woman to his palace where he bestowed upon her gifts, and placed her in authority as his chief wife.

This story of the poor woman and her two mites is too similar to the Gospel story not to be historically connected. Being a pauper she happens to come in possession of two mites and she offers them to the sangha (the Church). Her gift is regarded as more than the donations of rich people who give only a part of their abundance.

Now, the Buddhist story of the two mites happens to be one the date of which can be fixed with certainty before the year 62 of the Christian era. Beal's translation is made from the Chinese, which was translated by 'An-shai-ko, a doctor of the law, during the later Han dynasty, which ruled China in the second century of the Christian era. Buddhist books were imported in 62 by Ming Ti (who reigned 58-76), and we know that Aṣvaghosha's books were among them. Aṣvaghosha is known to have been a contemporary of Christ, and he was an old man at the time when King Kanishka

conquered Magadha. King Kanishka of Kashmir ascended the throne in 78. He was a Buddhist, and having conquered the King of Magadha (so we read in Hsüen Tsang's report) made peace with him on condition that he should surrender the begging-bowl of Buddha (one of the most sacred relics of Buddhism), and also the most famous Buddhist preacher, Aṣvaghosha. Aṣvaghosha was at that time so far advanced in years that (according to the Thibetan historian Târanâtha) he asked King Kanishka's permission to stay at home; according to Kumârajiva, however, he finally took up his abode in Kashmir.

Thus, we may be sure beyond any doubt that the Buddhist story of the two mites was written in India by a man who was either a contemporary of Christ or was born not much later than 10 A. D. Since it is not probable that the Gospel story of the two mites would have travelled so quickly from Palestine to India, the Buddhist origin of the tale seems pretty well established.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that the Christian Gospel story preserves an older version of the tale of the two mites; it is simpler and more dignified. The Buddhist story, in the form in which Aṣvaghosha cast it, has suffered by priestly perversion. We may be sure that the Buddhist story, as reprinted above from Beal's translation, presupposes the existence of a simpler account, which must have been the same as, or quite similar to, the account of Luke. Aṣvaghosha, a Buddhist preacher, utilises the story to impress the Buddhist laymen with the importance of bestowing gifts upon the sangha, the Buddhist Church; and in order to prove to his hearers that the poor woman was richly rewarded for her gift he completes the narrative in a very worldly fashion. That is not the way in which Buddha himself would have told the story, but it is quite natural in the time of Buddhist ecclesiasticism. Aṣvaghosha tells how the poor woman was rewarded by meeting the King, and finally becoming his queen. In a similar way, the Gospel story might have been spun out in the Middle Ages during the time of Christian ecclesiasticism by some monkish poet whose tendency would have been to impress his readers with the importance of making rich endowments to monasteries, and that to give all one's possessions would bring rich rewards.

While we thus grant that Aṣvaghosha's account is a perverted version of the story, it seems highly improbable that the Christian account should be the original; and we would rather believe that the original Buddhist account which is either unknown to us or

lost, found its way East through the channels by which so many other Buddhist ideas found their way into the New Testament.

Prof. Samuel Beal believes that the similarities between Christianity and Buddhism must be explained by the fact that Buddhism absorbed Christian ideas, and his theory how at such an early date Christian doctrines could have been transmitted to India is based on his identification of the Essenes with Buddhists.

The Essenes are a well-known sect, spoken of by Josephus, Philo, and Pliny. They were, in their mode of life and general institutions, very similar to the Therapeutæ of Egypt; and it is more than probable that the Nazarenes and Ebionites were either the same sect or affiliated to the Essene community, or sects that were similar in spirit and born of the same tendencies of the age.

Professor Beal enumerates all the similarities between the Buddhists and the Essenes; and since the subject has been repeatedly discussed there is no need of repeating his arguments. As to their keeping the Sabbath with great rigidity, M. Prideaux observes that the Essenes must have been Jews, but even here Professor Beal finds a similarity with the Buddhists. He says:

"With respect, however, to this we may remark that 'the Buddhist Sabbath was a day of religious observance and celebration for laymen and priests, and occurred four times in every month. On these days religious laymen (i. e., *white-clothed men*)¹ dress in their best, and abstain from all trade and worldly amusements.²

As to their name, Professor Beal says:

"There is no improbability in supposing that their name, which is either 'Essenes' or 'Essaioi,' is derived from the word *Isi*, gen. *isino*, plural *isi* or *isayo*. The meaning of *isi* is a 'saint' or 'holy man,' which meaning agrees with Philo's derivation from the Greek *ἅγιος*, a word probably connected with the same root.

"The Magadhī or Prakrit *Isi* is the Sanscrit *Rishi*, and this, with the addition of Maha (making a compound *Mahesi*, i. e., the Great Saint), was a not infrequent epithet of Buddha.

"It is a mistake to suppose that because the name '*Buddha*' is not met with in the West, therefore the doctrines of Buddhism were not known.

"'*Buddha*' is a term descriptive of the great teacher's character as 'the enlightened one' (*ὁ πεφωτισμενος*), or 'the awakened,' and was no personal appellation.

"Even on the stone-cut edicts of Asoka this epithet occurs but once.

"But as 'the saint' or 'great saint,' he was not uncommonly known, and his followers were also described as 'isayo' or 'isi-(you).'"³

¹In the Syrian monument discovered in China the Syrian Christian students are called *white-clothed*.

²*Vide* Childers' Pāli Dict., *sub voce* "Uposatho."

³*Vide* Oldenberg in his *Vinaya Pitaka*, in which this title is given to Buddha. *Vide* Index, Cullavagga, p. 339; and Childers states (Pāli Dict., *sub voce*), that "Buddhas and Arahās are called *isi*."

Professor Beal identifies the Essenes with the Buddhist laymen called Upasakas. He asks:

"Were the Essenes, then, a congregation of lay people corresponding with the Buddhist Upāsakas? The Upasakas were under vows of chastity, etc., but not so completely as the Bhikshus. A Bhikshu or full Buddhist monk was forbidden to labor in the field, but the Upasaka was not, the Bhikshu again wore yellow robes, the Upasaka wore white garments; the general name for eminent sages or saints (not Bhikshus) was *isayo* (Fausbøll, *Sutta Nipata*, p. 48), the plural form of *isi*. Another plural form was *isi*; these two agree with the Greek variants *Essouini* and *Essouoi*."

In comment on the report of Josephus, Professor Beal explains his views as follows:¹

"Josephus remarks 'that the Essenes hold marriage in no esteem, but yet do not absolutely oppose it.'

"1. So the Upāsakas (Buddhist laymen) were not forbidden to marry, but yet marriage was allowed only as a degree of holiness next below 'entire continency.'

"2. 'Riches held in contempt; community of goods maintained.' This is a distinctive mark of the Buddhist lay-disciple. The great Asoka gave all his goods to the Church, and encouraged the discipline of the Samgha, which required 'all goods to be held in common.' Besides which, there is no direction so frequently found in Buddhist writings as 'the duty of self-sacrifice and charity.'

"3. 'They make no use of oil.' This is a literal order found in the Buddhist community

"4. 'They go habited in white garments.' The Upāsakas throughout the Vinaya Pitaka are described as the 'white-clad.'²

"5. They have stewards, etc. This is the duty of the Buddhist *Karmadāna*, who takes the general management of the secular affairs of the convent.

"6. 'They give reception to all travellers of their sect, and neither sell nor buy.' This also is literally the case with Buddhists, even to the present day, inasmuch that their monasteries are still used as 'places for hospitality, where food is given without any charge.'

"7. With respect to the prayers of the Essenes before sunrising and at sunset, this is a rule of their order, as we are expressly told by I-Tsing. And in Mr. Dickson's translation of the *Patimokkam*, we have the words given us which the Buddhists use at grace

"The rules of the Essenes respecting the age of the members, the existence of novices, and the cause of expulsion, are all perfectly Buddhist."

Now, Professor Beal sums up his arguments by saying:

"If we accepted the theory that the Essenes were connected with Buddhism, this would be sufficient to account for the presence of these parallel records or no-

¹ For further information, Professor Beal refers to Dr. Lightfoot's *Epistles of St. Paul, Colossians, and Philemon*, Excursus i. iii. iii., Note 2, p. 394. Dr. Lightfoot there explains the name Σπαραρχηγός to be the Sanscrit *Sramanācharja*, which is obviously correct.

² There is also a well-known image of a female, with a child on her knee, common among Chinese Buddhists, and also known in India, as it is mentioned by I-Tsing in his account of Indian temples, and which is described as the "white-clad Kwan-yin," because she grants the request of the female lay-disciples that they may have children.

tices in the books of Northern Buddhism. The intercourse of Bactrian Greeks or Hellenists with Syria, and probably Samaria, where Alexander the Great had left a Macedonian colony, would be sufficient to account for it. To me, indeed, it appears most singular that the saying of Christ with respect to the woman who anointed him for his burying—if she be the same who wept at his feet, as is generally supposed—should be verified under a somewhat different form in the record of the tender woman who wept at Buddha's feet at the time of his death. It would seem as though the story were adopted and perverted by the Buddhists.¹ So also with respect to the Samaritan woman; there are now before me *three* versions of a story bearing marked likeness to this narrative, in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. These stories were brought to China by missionaries (Buddhist missionaries, I mean) from the West, and there translated. Now, it seems to me not an unreasonable surmise that those people of Sychar who were 'clothed in white' were Essenes. And if the Essenes were connected with Buddhists, the story might well have been carried away by some traveller or brother from a distant clime, and so become known in Parthia and North India."

Among minor coincidences, Beal mentions also that in both religions, Buddhism and Christianity, the danger of riches is inculcated. Aṣvaghosha, in his sermons, recites a long poem, probably of his own making, in which a Brahman is converted by understanding how little the pleasure is of enjoyment in comparison to the bliss (sweet dew) to be partaken of by the attainment of Nirvâna. Aṣvaghosha says:

"The case is so with wealthy folk,
Who now enjoy their luxuries, but in the end are born in hell.
In hell, whose very walls
And every corner, nay, the very earth, is molten fire.
The sinner there lies writhing;
The fire bursts from out his body
While he receives unmitigated torments.
Consider, then, and weigh the matter.
The joys to be partaken of, how few!
The pain and suffering, how great!"

Professor Beal then assumes that the Essene brethren came directly into contact with Aṣvaghosha. He says:

"Among the distinguished Buddhists who lived about the time of Kanishka (the Indo-Scythian conqueror of North India), the twelfth Buddhist patriarch, Aṣvaghosha, was not the least so. It is now tolerably certain² that Kanishka's reign began about 78 A. D. It is not strange, then, if we find in Aṣvaghosha's writings many allusions and illustrations derived apparently from foreign, and perhaps Christian, sources. To me, indeed, it appears, if the date above named be

¹ This supposes, of course, that the copy of the Chinese Vinaya Pitaka in which the account of this woman is found, was put together after the Christian era. May we refer this, and other books, to the council held under Kanishka?

² Compare Fergusson's *Saka, Samvat, and Gupta Eras*, with Dr. Oldenberg in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Vol. VIII.

the true one, that much in the Buddhist development coming under the name of the Greater Vehicle may be explained on this ground.

"Altogether, having translated the *Buddhacharita* throughout, and also the greater portion of Aṣvaghosha's sermons, I am impressed with the conviction that Christian teaching had reached his ears at the time when Aṣvaghosha was in Parthia, or at any rate in Bactria (viz., about A. D. 70), and that he was influenced by it so far as to introduce into Buddhism the changes we find beginning to take shape at this period."

Professor Beal seems little acquainted with Pāli literature, for he calls the idea of "universal salvation," and the doctrines of Buddha's incarnation by the descent of the spirit, and of the power of the *bhodi* or wisdom by which we are made "sons" or converted "disciples" un-Buddhistic. The latter, it is true, are characteristic developments of the Mahâyâna, but the former, and also the idea of sonship, date back to Buddha himself. Beal claims that :

"There was such an intercommunication at this time between East and West as shaped the later school of Buddhism into a pseudo-Christian form; and this accounts very much for some otherwise inexplicable similarities."

Now it may be regarded as historical that Aṣvaghosha lived in Kashmir, but that he reached Bactria or even Parthia is (so far as we know) nowhere mentioned.

Thus it is barely possible that Aṣvaghosha may have received accounts from his Buddhist brethren in distant Palestine; it is barely possible, but that is all that can be said in favor of Professor Beal's interpretation of the facts before him. And we must consider that in 78 Aṣvaghosha was an old man. He had written the books (especially the *Buddhacharita*, the life of Buddha) that had made him famous and we cannot assume that at this most advanced stage of his career, he should have introduced all those changes into his religion which made Buddhism so very much like Christianity.

Does it not seem much more probable that the story of the two mites and other narratives common to Christianity and Buddhism are older than the Mahâyâna? And assuredly, the connections between the Orient and Occident which become now better and better known to us, go far to prove that Christian doctrines were formed in Judæa under the influence of older religions among which Buddhism, Parseeism, and Hellenism are of special importance.

Christian influence upon later Buddhism especially through the Nestorians in Thibet and China cannot be denied, and thus many similarities between the Roman Catholic ritual and the Lama-

ist institutions must be regarded as Christian importations ; but the many parallels between the ancient Pâli texts and the Gospel traditions especially the parables cannot be explained in the same way, and I do not see how we can escape the inference of their Buddhist origin. We must consider that at any rate, whether or not incidental stories have been derived by Buddhism from Christianity or *vice versa*, the main doctrines of a universal loving-kindness, of forbearance towards enemies, etc., etc., are unequivocally as old as Buddha himself who lived in the fifth century before Christ.

ECCLESIASTES OR THE SPHINX OF HEBREW LITERATURE.

BY REV. BERNHARD PICK, PH.D., D.D.

INTRODUCTION.

THE book of Koheleth, commonly called Ecclesiastes, has rightly been styled the sphinx of Hebrew literature. Though this book has only 222 verses, yet its literature is very rich, and it may confidently be stated that since the year 1850, at least as many pens as are verses in the book, have been busy in writing on that book. From the Septuagint the name *Ecclesiastes* comes to us, but this is not the only one given in explanation of the word "Koheleth." *Tot capita, tot sensus*, and thus has been suggested "compiler," "preacher," "debater," "gatherer or acquirer of wisdom," "eclectic," "accumulated wisdom," "the reunited, the gathered soul," "the penitent," "an assembly," "academy," "an old man," "an exclaiming voice," "philosopher or moralist," "the departed spirit of Solomon," etc. The latest is probably "prince of doctrinal ethics," if we may infer from the title of W. Garstang's book (which I have not seen): "My Heart's Fruit-garden, wherein are Divers Delectable Adages and Similes of the Prince of Doctrinal Ethics. A Translation out of the Ancient Biblical Hebrew of the Book of Koheleth, else 'Ecclesiastes,' or the Preacher." London, 1887.

The contents of the book were a great puzzle to the Jewish schoolmen, and for centuries the rabbis disputed about it, yea in the first Christian century it still belonged to the *Antilegomena*. Some heretics rejected it as teaching a false morality, and Theodore of Mopsuestia was accused of questioning its inspiration. Down to the time of Luther, both synagog and church believed in the Solomonic authorship of the book; but Luther was the first to question this authorship, and was followed by Grotius, who is the first

in the galaxy of writers who rejected the Solomonic authorship. Though Ginsburg wrote in 1861, "we could as easily believe that Chaucer is the author of 'Rasselas' as that Solomon wrote Koheleth," and Delitzsch, in 1875: "If the book of Koheleth be of old Solomonic origin, then there is no history of the Hebrew language"; yet in 1880, Dr. Johnston published his *Treatise on the Authorship of Ecclesiastes*, a book of 590 pages, endeavoring to vindicate the traditional view. Five years later, Dr. E. H. Plumptre wrote: "No one now dreams of ascribing it to Solomon."

The great majority of biblical students now reject the Solomonic authorship, and if names are of any authority we can mention besides Delitzsch, Hengstenberg, Zöckler, Hitzig, Knobel, Volck, Strack, Gesenius, Nowack, Ewald, Kleinert, Kautzsch, and others. In England we have Plumptre, Ginsburg, Davidson, Wright, Cheyne, etc.; in our own country, Moses Stuart. Others like Cowles, Young, Hyde and Tayler Lewis, who supplied the English translation of Zöckler's Commentary (in the Lange series) with notes, adhere to the traditional view.

As to the time of composition, the dates range over very nearly a thousand years, from B. C. 990 to B. C. 10. The last date is the one assigned by the Jewish historian, Graetz (without, however, being adopted by any one), who regards Ecclesiastes as a politico-religious satire leveled against King Herod, with the special object of correcting certain evil tendencies among the Jews of that age.

Different as the opinions concerning the date are, the opinions concerning the aim of the book are greater. Jerome read it with his disciple, Blæsilla, that he might persuade her to renounce the vanities of the world for the life of the convent at Bethlehem. Some saw in the book the confessions of the penitent and converted Solomon; Heine called it "the song of skepticism"; Voltaire dedicated his paraphrase of the book to Frederick II., as that of a book which was the King's favorite study. Graetz thinks that the book intends to teach a license like that of a St. Simonian "rehabilitation of the flesh." Graetz has found an admirer in Renan, although he goes his own way. The French writer published not only a commentary on Ecclesiastes in 1882, but also popularised the book in an essay published in the same year in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. In his *The Antichrist* he had already spoken of Ecclesiastes as the only charming book that has ever been written by a Jew, and in his commentary he says of the author of the book: he was "a worthy man, devoid of prejudices, good and generous at bottom, but discouraged by the baseness of the time and the sad con-

ditions of human life. . . . He would willingly be a hero, but, verily, God rewards heroism so little, that one asks one's self if it is not going against His intentions to take up things in that manner." Koheleth, according to Renan, was no atheist. He believed in the existence of a God who occasionally interposed in the affairs of the world. But the God of his creed was one who was too great to concern himself deeply with human actions in general.

The chief interest which the book presents to us is a picture of an intellectual and moral position. The author was a man of the world, he was not a pious man or a theologian; perhaps he was some great-grandfather of Annas or of Caiaphas; of the aristocratic priests who with so light a heart condemned Jesus." What pleases Renan especially is the personality of the author, so that "one loves to picture him to one's self as an exquisite man, and one of polished manners, as an ancestor of some rich Jew of Paris gone astray in Judea in the time of Jesus and the Maccabees."

No less interesting, though written in a different spirit, is the ideal biography of Koheleth given by Professor Plumptre in his Commentary on Ecclesiastes. According to this biography Koheleth lived in Judea, about B.C. 220, not far from Jerusalem. By and by the young man travelled, and finally settled at Alexandria. Here he became acquainted with one whom he could call a true friend, "one among a thousand," but also with a woman for whom he imbibed a passionate affection. Discovering her utter baseness, he barely had time to escape from her net; hence his strong denunciation of the female sex in the pages of his work. At Alexandria Koheleth became also acquainted with the philosophical systems of the Epicureans and Stoics, and the natural science of physiology of the former especially attracted our student. In chaps. xi. and xii. of his book, Koheleth exhibits more than ordinary acquaintance with the anatomy and construction of the human frame. In consequence of his dissipation, Koheleth gets sick and, after a long illness, he has time to reflect on the past, and becomes a firm believer in God and immortality. Such is a short outline of the interesting novel written by the Dean of Wells.

In accordance with his theory, Dr. Plumptre brings many parallels to show Koheleth's acquaintance with the systems he became acquainted with in Alexandria; but this seeming Stoicism and Epicureanism is denied by Cheyne in his *Job and Solomon* (1887), according to whom Koheleth is a native Hebrew philosopher. With Cheyne agrees also Delitzsch and Renan. Some, as Zirkel (1792)

attempted to discover Grecisms in the Book of Ecclesiastes; but this theory has little or no support.

Some philosophical writers pretended to have found the doctrine of Pessimism in our book. Thus especially A. Taubert (the name under which Ed. von Hartmann's first wife wrote in defense of her husband's philosophy, the author of *Philosophie des Unbewussten*) in her work, *Pessimismus und seine Gegner* (Berlin, 1873), terms chaps. i-iii. and iv., 1-4 of our book "a catechism of Pessimism"; but the contents of these chapters show the essential difference existing between Koheleth's pessimism and our modern pessimists.

Passing over a number of other works on Ecclesiastes, we must mention the latest, that by C. Siegfried of Jena, published in 1898, and forming part of the Hand-Commentary on the Old Testament edited by W. Nowack of Strassburg. Siegfried endeavors to prove that it is impossible to accept the book as one whole. He admits that at the beginning there existed a unitary document of the whole, but the work as it is transmitted passed through many hands, hence the many radical contradictions. Thus according to iii. 1-8 everything in the world takes place in a certain change of opposites, from which one cannot win a sensible sense and over against which everything appears purposeless (v. 9). But according to iii. 11 this system of the world has been very excellently ordered by God, although man cannot fully grasp it; in iii. 12 Koheleth has again lost this knowledge, for he recommends to man to enjoy himself as much as possible, as the only thing left to him.—According to iii. 16, iv. 1 every mark of a moral system of the world is denied; but according to iii. 17, v. 7, viii. 11 it cannot be doubted that there is a highest judge who has only delayed his judgment.—According to iii. 18-21 there is no difference between man and beast; both are subject to the same law of nature, animated by the same breath of life. What takes place with the latter after death, we cannot know. But according to xii. 7 the body of man only returns to the earth, the spirit to God, who gave it, and we are assured immediately v. 9 that upon the whole everything is humbug, thus no doubt also what he had just said.—According to vii. 15, viii. 10, 12a, 14 it is a vain conceit to believe that the pious will be rewarded by God and the wicked will be judged. On the other hand, vii. 17, viii. 5, 12b, 13 we are assured that the wicked are taken away by a premature death; the pious and keepers of the law, however, are preserved from all misfortune.—In vii. 2 man is admonished to devote himself to the contempla-

tion of the certainty of his death; in v. 17, ix. 7-10 the same considerations (see v. 14 seq., ix. 5 seq.) are used as an invitation to spend the existence if possible with good eating and drinking.—In xi. 9^a the young man is advised to follow the inclinations of his desires; in v. 9^b, however, it is enjoined on him to consider that he must give an account of all before God's judgment.—The observation that the iron order of nature (i. 2-10) makes every human effort fruitless (ii. 17, 20, iii. 9) drives Koheleth flatly to despair. According to iii. 22, v. 18-19, on the other hand, human labor, which according to what has just been said is fruitless, yields many a success and real joys of life. This is not a *skepsis* which is coupled with the deepest fear of God. These are contradictions more trenchant than which cannot be thought of.—In other questions also these contradictions appear. According to i. 17, ii. 15, 16 the strife for wisdom is a feeding on wind. But according to ii. 13, 14 the excellence of wisdom is as great as that of light over darkness; it belongs to the greatest good, vii. 11-12, 19; viii. 16; ix. 13-18; x. 2, 12.

On this account it has always appeared a fruitless task to show a plan and an organic connection in the book of Koheleth. These efforts were the more fruitless since besides the contradictions we must not overlook the complete incoherency in considerable parts of our writing. Let one compare the gaping chasms between iv. 15 seq. and v. 17; v. 1; between v. 6, 7, 8, 9, between vii. 6, 7; v. 19 and 20; x. 3 and 4 and other. One can boldly assert that in the part iv.-xii. the passages in which a tolerable connection exists form the minority. It can therefore not be surprising that so many efforts were made to show a plan and connection in the book of Koheleth, but the examination of all these attempts has resulted, as Siegfried confesses, in the conclusion that "all is vanity."

How does the latter solve the difficulty? Starting from the fact that in the first three chapters only a few passages are found contradicting the general views of the speaker and that for the rest we have in them an entirely close connection of thoughts, he thinks that we have here the proper original of the book of Koheleth, of which only fragments are preserved in the later parts of the book. In it we meet with a pessimistic philosopher who like Job opposes the proof of facts to the teachings of the Jewish religion. His main thought: All is vanity, in i. 2, by which he questions all positions of Judaism, he exhibits, as the same is done in the Job poem, in parallel deductions.

The first deduction comprises i. 3-ii. 12, 14^b-24^c. The author

whom we call Koheleth states here that all which happens upon earth exhibits an iron law of the circuit of the single phenomena, i. 3-11, and that all efforts of human wisdom to find out a rational ground for this regulation, are fruitless, v. 12-18. His effort to banish the pessimistic disposition with regard to the earthly conditions by all kinds of enjoyment, by creations of strained activity, and thus to obtain an inner satisfaction, has been in vain, ii. 1-11. Even his strife for wisdom has been without any result, ii. 12, 14b, 15-16, so that he finally gave himself completely to despair, v. 17-24a.

The second deduction of the main thought of i. 2 comprises iii. 1-10, 12, 15, 16, 18-21. Here we find the opposites of all earthly events, which frustrate every toil of man. Birth is followed by death, planting by uprooting, keeping by casting away, etc., iii. 1-9. This order of nature, which forever destroys again what has been created, v. 10, 12, 15, proves at the same time the absence of every moral principle and of every justice in the order of the world, since in nature there cannot be a special adjustment for men. As their essence is the same as that of the beast, their destiny cannot be different, iii. 16, 18, 21.

In the third deduction, ch. iv., v., the insertions by another hand, the misplacing of portions, the gaps and corrections, increase to such a degree that it is no more possible to show a firm connection of thoughts. Yet the hand of Koheleth can be perceived in the following parts: iv. 1-4, 6-8, 13-16; v. 9, 10, 12-16, in the complaint over the irretrievable suffering of humanity, iv. 1-3, and in the complaint over the restless and at the same time resultless toiling of men, iv. 4, etc.

In the following parts of the book the insertions by a strange hand surpass the rest. The following portions undoubtedly belong to Koheleth: vi. 1-7; vii. 1b-4, 15, perhaps also v. 26-28; viii. 9, 10, 14, 16, 17; ix. 2, 3, 5, 6; x. 5-7.

What saved the book of the pessimistic philosopher was the fact that it had the name of Solomon at its head, otherwise it would certainly have been destroyed by the parties which afterwards became authoritative in Judaism. But instead of this it had the misfortune to be corrected, glossed by the other parties within the then Judaism, to be adapted to their standpoint. The next glossator was no radical opponent. He belonged to those Sadducaic circles which devoted themselves to Epicureanism, and this in another sense as is sometimes the case in Koheleth. When the latter exclaims in painful resignation, that under the present

circumstances there is nothing better for man than to eat and drink, ii. 24*a*, iii. 12, we know from ii. 3, 10, 17 seq. 20 that in his sense this is not nor can be a real enjoyment. The Epicurean glossator, on the other hand, whom we call K², is of the opinion that eating and drinking is indeed a very respectable pleasure, in which one has full reward for all the toil of man, v. 17, viii. 15; and he exhorts the reader, as far as possible to prepare for himself such and other like sensual joys, ix. 7-10, x. 19, xi. 7-9*a*, 10, ere the time of old age and death comes and the time for such enjoyments is past, ix. 12, xii. 1-7*a*, especially xi. 8. He clings to life and finds it beautiful. It is good to see the light of the sun, he says, xi. 7, whereas Koheleth is of opinion that the day of death is better than that of birth, vii. 1*b*. According to ix. 4 (K²), a living dog is better than a dead lion, whereas Koheleth praises the untimely birth happy, vi. 3, and thinks the dead more happy than the living, iv. 2. As in this respect, so K² differs from Koheleth with regard to labor, iii. 22, ix. 10, v. 18, 19, vii. 14. On other points too we see the Sadducaism of this glossator. Thus in vii. 16 he opposes the Pharisaically cultic exaggerations. On the whole belong to K²: iii. 22; v. 17-19; vii. 14, 16; viii. 15; iv. 4, 7-10, 12; x. 19; xi. 7, 8*a*, 9*a*, 10; xii. 1*b*-7*a*.

Another reader of Koheleth evidently belonged to the assembly of the sages. He felt himself called to defend wisdom over against Koheleth. We call him the glossing Chakam K³. He asserts the excellencies of wisdom. To him belong ii. 13, 14*a*; iv. 5; vi. 8, 9*a*; vii. 11, 12, 19; viii. 1; ix. 13-18; x. 1-3, 12-15. The advice of Koheleth to give up the fruitless strife, iv. 4, 6*b*, he answers by saying that only a fool can act thus, iv. 5.

More important was the opposition to those utterances of Koheleth, which were directed against the fundamental doctrines of Judaism concerning the divine system of the world and its justice. Since in the circles of the pious a book which bore Solomon's name could not so easily be hidden, an effort was made to make it as harmless as possible by corrections. We call the author of these corrections the glossing Chasid and mark him as K⁴. He opposes the assertion of Koheleth concerning the fruitlessness of every human effort. And as he opposes Koheleth, he likewise opposes K² (vii. 16) in vii. 17. On the whole we must assign to K⁴: ii. 24*b*-26*a*; iii. 11, 13, 14, 17; iv. 17; v. 1, 3-5, 6*b*, 7; vi. 10-12; vii. 13, 17, 23-25, 29; viii. 2-8, 11-13; ix. 1; xi. 5, 8*b*, 9*b*; xii. 1*a*, 7*b*.

Besides those already mentioned, other glossators have also made additions to our book, whom it is impossible to distinguish

individually and whom we therefore call K⁵. To them undoubtedly belong: iv. 9-12; v. 2, 6 (the close excepted), 8, 11; vii. 1a, 5, 6a, 7-10, 18, 20-22; ix. 11; x. 4, 8-11, 16-18, 20; xi. 1-4, 6. The entire poem i. 2-xii. 7 was put together in the confusion in which it was extant by a redactor R¹, who supplied it with the title i. 1 and a concluding formula xii. 8.—Besides three special epilogues were added, of which the first xii. 9, 10 tries to instruct the reader with regard to the person of Koheleth. To this author can not possibly belong the second epilogue xii. 11, 12, since he betrays the most hostile disposition towards this entire literature. The closing words xii. 13, 14 betray a Pharisee who believes in a final judgment, which the Chasid K⁴ iii. 17; xi. 9b knows not yet. We call this Epilogist R².

Against this interpolation-hypothesis it cannot be asserted that so few linguistic differences are to be found among the individual glossators, since they all belong to the same short period from 200-100.

In this manner Professor Siegfried tries to solve the difficulties connected with this book. Whether this theory will be accepted by all is another question. We have, however, not adopted it in our translation, but introduced such emendations of the text—distinguished by []—as he recommends. It was not our purpose to write a commentary. But we have given such notes under the text as will help the understanding. From the ancient classics as well as from Shakespeare we have quoted such passages which could be adduced as parallels. The extracts in the notes are from more recent and less known works. We refer especially to Bradley's *Lectures on Ecclesiastes* and Momerie's work on *Agnosticism*.

We cannot close this introduction without calling attention to the fact that Ecclesiastes or Koheleth was not without influence upon the book commonly called Ecclesiasticus or the Book of Jesus the Son of Sirach. There are not a few of the aphorisms found in Ecclesiasticus which sufficiently show that the latter in many passages imitated Koheleth. But of greater interest is the fact that Ecclesiastes found an opponent in the author of the Book of Wisdom, who took exception to certain statements in the Book of Koheleth, and the work of this Anti-Ecclesiastes deserves more than a passing mention.

Of the deuterocanonical books none is more interesting than the Book of Wisdom, commonly called the Wisdom of Solomon, and which, as J. E. Ch. Schmidt (*Salomo's Prediger*, 1794), Kelle (*Die Salomonischen Schriften*, 1815), and others assert, is to be re-

garded as a refutation of Ecclesiastes or Koheleth. Because the book is called Wisdom of Solomon, Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, and Tertullian believed in its Solomonic authorship. Origen, Eusebius, and Augustine denied this authorship, but believed in its divine inspiration. Jewish scholars, like de Rossi and Wessely, not to mention a number of Christian writers, also held that the book was written by Solomon, and the Solomonic authorship is still believed by the Roman Catholic writer Schmid, the author of *Das Buch der Weisheit* (Vienna, 1858). But Solomon is neither the author of Ecclesiastes nor of Wisdom. J. M. Faber's hypothesis that Wisdom was written by Zerubbabel is as much a curiosity as Grotius's claim that Ecclesiastes was written by that worthy. The suggestion of Noack (*Ursprung des Christenthums*, I., p. 222, Leipzig, 1837) that Wisdom was written by Apollos, was ably defended by Dean Plumptre ("The Writings of Apollos," in the *Expositor*, 1878), but with this difference, that the former claims that Apollos wrote the book after his conversion to Christianity, and the latter that it was written before his conversion, hence the many phrases of Wisdom which reappear in the Epistle to the Hebrews. According to Noack the famous passage in Wisdom ii. 12-20 is a mark of Christian origin; the description is a reflection of the impression which the fate of Jesus made upon his faithful followers, since in the Acts of the Apostles, vii. 52, the enemies of Jesus are charged with having become the betrayers and murderers of the "Just One." The passage in Wisdom runs thus:

"Therefore let us lie in wait for the righteous; because he is not for our turn, and he is clean contrary to our doings; he upbraideth us with our offending the law, and objecteth to our infamy the transgressings of our education. He professeth to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himself the child of the Lord. He was made to reprove our thoughts. He is grievous unto us even to behold; for his life is not like other men's, his ways are of another fashion. We are esteemed of him as counterfeits; he abstaineth from our ways as from filthiness; he pronounceth the end of the just to be blessed, and maketh his boast that God is his father. Let us see if his words be true, and let us prove what shall happen in the end of him. For if the just man be the son of God, he will help him and deliver him from the hand of his enemies. Let us examine him with despitefulness and torture, that we may know his meekness, and prove his patience. Let us condemn him with a shameful death; for by his own saying he shall be respected."

According to Plumptre, the writer had heard, it may be, of that Righteous One who appeared in Galilee and Jerusalem, and that marvellous history had stirred him into a glow of admiration for him whom as yet he knew not. Whether one believes in Apollos's authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews or not, certain it is

that Apollos is not the author of the Book of Wisdom, which was undoubtedly written before Philo; and the resemblance in language in the Epistle to the Hebrews may be paralleled rather from Philo, as J. B. McCaul has done in his *Epistle to the Hebrews* (London, 1874).

What was the writer's purpose? It may be said that he intended to correct either the teaching of Ecclesiastes, or a current misinterpretation of the same. The most striking instance is in Wisdom ii. 6-10 when compared with Ecclesiastes ix. 7-9. Here Ecclesiastes, or Koheleth, gives the advice to make use of the innocent joys of life. The ungodly libertines of Alexandria, referring to the passage, interpreted, or misinterpreted, it in their own fashion as may be seen from the words put into their mouth by Anti-Ecclesiastes:

"Come, therefore, and let us enjoy the good things present, and let us eagerly make use of the world as long as we are young. Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments, and let no flower of the spring pass by us. Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds before they wither; let there be no meadow which our riot does not traverse. Let not one of us be without a share of our wantonness; everywhere let us leave behind us signs of our joyousness; for this is our portion, and this our lot."

The last words are the same used by Ecclesiastes several times (ii. 10; iii. 22; v. 18; ix. 9). The scoffers at Alexandria asserted in the words of Ecclesiastes that "one chance happens to the righteous and to the wicked" (ix. 2). To this Anti-Ecclesiastes rejoins that there is no such thing; on the contrary, the righteous are in the hand of God, they are in peace and live forever; whereas the wicked go to destruction (Wisdom iii. 2, 3; iv. 7; v. 14, 15). Does Ecclesiastes assert that in much wisdom is much grief (i. 18), his antagonist replies that to live with wisdom has no bitterness and no sorrow, but mirth and joy (viii. 16). Says Ecclesiastes that wisdom brings no bread to the wise, neither favor nor respect (ix. 11), Anti-Ecclesiastes asserts that she brings veneration and honor (viii. 10). Says Ecclesiastes that there is no remembrance of the wise more than of the fool for ever (ii. 16), Anti-Ecclesiastes rejoins that by means of wisdom he shall obtain immortality and leave behind an everlasting memorial to them that come after him (viii. 13). Says Ecclesiastes that wisdom is to be sought in wine and revelry and delights (ii. 1-8), Anti-Ecclesiastes replies that wisdom shall not enter into a malicious soul, nor dwell in a body given to sin (i. 4). When Koheleth states that death is better than life, and it is to be desired as an everlasting sleep (vi.

4, 5), his antagonist says: "Seek not death in the error of your life, for God made no death" (i. 12, 13); "through envy of the Devil came death into the world, and they that do hold of his side do find it" (ii. 24). When Ecclesiastes states that God has made all beautiful in its time (iii. 11) and made man upright (iv. 29), Anti-Ecclesiastes rejoins that God created all things that they might have their being (i. 14), and man to be immortal (ii. 23).

Without going into further details, it must be admitted that although Ecclesiastes occupies a place in the canon, and Anti-Ecclesiastes in the Apocrypha, the latter occupies a higher standpoint than the former. And because certain doctrines are brought out fuller in the Book of Wisdom than by Ecclesiastes, it supplied an important gap in Jewish theology. The late Professor Delitzsch says very pertinently:

"In the Book of Ecclesiastes the old covenant digs its own grave. It is in so far also a schoolmaster unto Christ, since it awakens the desire for a better covenant than the first. The Book of Wisdom, however, is a harbinger of this better covenant."

MISCELLANEOUS.

COUNT LEO TOLSTOY'S ARTICLE.

Count Leo Tolstoy's article "The Overthrow of Hell and Its Restoration" in the present number is a vigorous attack on the Church. It constitutes the first part of a pamphlet which may be regarded as Tolstoy's confession of faith, or rather the programme of his social and religious convictions. He is severe on both the Church and the established government, and while in many respects he denounces the Russian government in particular, his comments strike home to government in any form. When speaking of the Church, he thinks first of all of the Greek Catholic Church; but he hits the Episcopalians as well, saying:

"The Church is produced thus: Some people assure themselves and others that their teacher, God, has chosen special men who, with those to whom they transfer this power, can alone correctly interpret His teaching. Those men who call themselves the Church regard themselves as holding the truth, not because what they preach is truth, but because they regard themselves as the only true successors of the disciples of the disciples of the disciples, and at last of the disciples of the teacher Himself, God....

"Having recognised themselves as the only expositors of God's law, and having persuaded others of this, these men became the highest arbiters of man's fate, and therefore were entrusted with the highest power over men. Having received this power, they naturally became infatuated and, for the most part, depraved, thus exciting against themselves the anger and enmity of men. In order to overcome their enemies they, having no other arms but violence, began to persecute, to kill, to burn all those who would not recognise their power. Thus by their very position they were forced to misrepresent the teaching so that it should justify both their wicked lives and their cruelties to their enemies."

Tolstoy claims that Christ's teaching was so simple that no one could possibly misinterpret it. It is expressed in the saying: "Do unto others what thou desirest that others should do unto thee." But Satan's helpers succeeded in obscuring the Golden Rule.

Concerning government, Beelzebub says, according to Tolstoy's description:

"He who destroyed Hell taught mankind to live like the birds of Heaven, commanding men to give to him that asks and to surrender one's coat to him who wishes to take one's shirt, saying that to be saved one must give away one's property. How then dost thou induce men who have heard this to go on plundering?"

"We do this," said the moustached devil haughtily, throwing back his head, "exactly as did our father and ruler when Saul was elected King. Even as then, we instil into men the idea that instead of ceasing to plunder each other it is more

convenient to allow one man to plunder them all, giving him full authority over all. What is new in our methods is only this,—that for confirming this one man's right of plundering we lead him into a church, put a special cap on his head, seat him in an elevated armchair, give him a little stick and a ball, rub him with some oil, and in the name of God and His Son proclaim the person of this man, rubbed with oil, to be sacred. Thus the plunder performed by this personage, regarded as sacred, can in no way be restricted. So these sacred personages and their assistants and the assistants of their assistants, all without ceasing, quietly and safely plunder the people. Generally, laws and regulations are instituted by which the idle minority, even without anointing, may plunder with impunity the laboring majority. In some States of late the plunder goes on without anointed men, even as much as where they exist. As our father and ruler sees, the method we use is in substance the old one. What is new in it is that we have made this method more general, more insidious, more widespread in extent and time, and more stable."

As to international politics, the devil of murder proposed the following scheme:

"We manage thus: We persuade each nation that it—this nation—is the very best of all nations on earth. '*Deutschland über alles*;' France, England, Russia '*über alles*,' and that this nation, whichever it be, ought to rule over all the others. As we inculcate the same idea into all nations, they continually feel themselves in danger from their neighbors,—are always preparing to defend themselves, and become exasperated against each other. The more one side prepares for defence, and, in consequence, becomes exasperated against its neighbors, the more all the others prepare for defence and hate each other. So, now all those who have accepted the teaching of him who called us murderers, are continually and chiefly occupied in preparation for murder and in murder itself."

As to marriage, Beelzebub explained his mode of procedure as follows:

"We do this both according to the old method used by thee, our father and ruler, when yet in the garden of Eden, and which gave over all the human race into our power, but we do it also in a new ecclesiastical way. According to the new ecclesiastical method we proceed thus: We persuade men that true marriage consists not in what it really consists, the union of man and woman, but in dressing oneself up in one's best clothes, going into a big building arranged for the purpose, and there putting on one's head caps specially prepared for the occasion, walking round a little table three times to the sound of various songs. We teach men that this only is true marriage. Being persuaded of this, they naturally regard all unions between man and woman formed outside of these conditions as mere frolics binding one to nothing, or as the satisfaction of a hygienic necessity, and therefore they unrestrainedly give themselves up to this pleasure...."

"In this way, while not abandoning the former method of forbidden fruit and inquisitiveness practised in Eden, we attain the very best results, men imagining that they can arrange for themselves an honest ecclesiastical marriage even after a dissolute life; men change hundreds of wives and thus become so accustomed to vice that they go on doing the same after the Church marriage. If for any reason, any of the demands connected with their Church marriage appear to them cumbersome, then they arrange another walk round the little table, whilst the first is regarded as of no effect."

In order to prevent people from investigating the real cause of all unhappiness on earth, Satan invented science and makes people investigate all kinds of physical

laws, the descent of man, etc. He thus succeeds in covering up the important religious truth of the Golden Rule. For the sake of increasing the toil of man, machinery was introduced. The devil of the labor question says: "I persuade men that as articles can be produced better by machines than by men, it is therefore necessary to turn men into machines, and they do this, and the men turned into machines hate those who have done so unto them."

Tolstoy winds up his statements as follows: "The devils encircled Beelzebub. At one end was the devil in the cape,—the inventor of the Church; at the other end the devil in the mantle,—the inventor of Science. These devils clasped each other's paws, and the ring was complete.

All the devils chuckling, yelping, whistling, cracking their heels and twisting their tails, spun and danced around Beelzebub. Beelzebub, himself flapping his unfolded wings, danced in the middle, kicking up high his legs.

"Above were heard cries, weeping, groans, and the gnashing of teeth."

THE GÂTHAS OF ZARATHUSHTRA.¹

Among the sacred books of Mazdaism the Gâthas are probably the most important. Zoroaster, or as he is called in the original Zend, Zarathushtra, is represented in the Vendidad and in the Avesta as a demi-god, a prophet full of the spirit of Ahura, that is, the Lord; and his miraculous powers are never doubted. The Gâthas, or hymns, unquestionably constitute the oldest documents of Zoroaster's religion. Here the prophet of dualism, far from being a demi-god, is a struggling man confronted with dangers, passing through tribulations, full of hope and fear, cursing his enemies, and promising the peace of God to his friends and supporters. They afford the strongest proof that Zoroaster was really a concrete living personality, that his work was historical, and that the later myths that surround his name as a halo are mere accretions which naturally grow around the memory of a great man.

Zoroaster was born in Iran, probably in the northwestern part, in Adarbaijan, near the Caspian Sea. He impresses his countrymen with the truth that there is but one God, and that the evil principle which contends with God the Lord omniscient (Ahura Mazda) for the government of the world is the source of all evil. We, all living creatures, are confronted with the great question whether we will serve God or the Evil One, the latter being represented by the Dævas, presumably the degraded old deities of the Iranian tribes.

Professor Mills has translated the Gâthas first into Latin and then transliterated them into the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXX., pp. 1-393; but his aspiration to present them to the public in a readable form suggested to him the idea of publishing a new English metrical version, in which he endeavors to introduce the English public into the spirit of the Zarathushtrian Gâthas. The book was first published by Henry Frowde, but The Open Court Publishing Company has now acquired the ownership, and we take pleasure in offering the second edition to the American and English public.

Even in the metrical form the Gâthas are by no means easy reading. We have to bear in mind a number of terms which frequently occur, and it is difficult to translate them into English. Although Ahura Mazda, the Lord omniscient, is

¹ *The Gâthas of Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) in metre and rhythm*, being a second edition of the metrical versions in the author's edition of 1892-1894. By Lawrence H. Mills, D. D., Hon. M. A., Professor of Zend Philology in the University of Oxford. Chicago: The Open Court Pub. Co. Pages, xix, 240. Price, \$2.00.

sole God, Ahriman, or Ahrimanu, is an independent being inferior to him, yet quite distinct and separate. A great crisis is at hand, in which the Iranians, ad-



ZOROASTER.¹

dressed by Zoroaster, are called upon to choose which side to take. Further, we

¹ Copied from a bas-relief at Persepolis. Examples of Persian iconography in *Early Sassanian Inscriptions*, by Edw. Thomas, F. R. S. (Reproduced from *The Hundred Greatest Men*, by permission of Sampson, Low, Marston & Co.)

have to mention that Zarathushtra makes use of a number of expressions which in the later development of his religion develop into a theological mythology, or, to say the least, angelology. The Amshaspand, or archangels, are personified powers of God, among whom Vohu Manah (Good Thought), Asha (the Moral World Order, or Righteousness), Khshathra Vairya (the Kingdom of Perfection), are the most important ones. They correspond to the archangels of Christianity.

In the book before us, Professor Mills took the most important hymns and grouped them in such a way as to indicate the historical order; the introduction being Yasna xliii., a greeting to an expected champion of his religion. We have good reason to assume that it is addressed to Vishtaspa, the Zoroastrian Constantine, the principal hero of orthodox Mazdaism.

In Yasna xxix., the second hymn in Professor Mills's collection, we hear the adherents of the prophet cry for assistance from God; they are represented as the soul of the herd clamoring for a leader, as which Zoroaster presents himself. Ahura Mazda, the Lord omniscient, calls him, and entrusts him with the great mission of extending help to the herd. It concludes with the prayer of Zoroaster:

"Grant gladness, O Ahura
and the Right, unto these a Kingdom,
A Realm with the Good Mind ordered,
which joy and amenity giveth;
Of these, O Mazda, ever
the possessor first I thought Thee."

Zoroaster now enters upon his office (Yasna xxviii.). He prays for assistance from Mazda, to be supported by "His bounteous spirit and the Good Mind's understanding, thus the Herd's soul to appease." He utters the following invocation:

"O Righteousness and thou Good Mind,
with surpassing chants I'll praise you,
And Mazda, for whom our Piety
aids the everlasting Kingdom;
Aye, together I adore you;
then, for grace while I call, draw near.

"O Holiness, when shall I see Thee,
and thou Good Mind, as I discover
Obedience, the path to the Lord,
to Mazda, the most beneficent?
With that Manthra will we teach
foul heretics faith on our God."

Zoroaster feels compelled to explain the constitution of the world to his followers, and he speaks with authority; he claims to have had a revelation from Ahura Mazda himself. He addresses God in the following stanza:

"I who the Right to shelter
and the Good Mind, am set for ever,
Teach Thou me forth from Thyself
to proclaim, from Thy mouth of spirit
The laws by which at the first,
this world into being entered!"

The answer to this prayer for inspiration is given in Yasna xxx., where the so-called dualism is proclaimed. The prophet calls upon his people to decide, and urges every single man to choose for himself.

"Hear ye this with the ears,
 behold ye the flames with the Best Mind;
 Faith's choices must ye now fix,
 for yourselves, man and man deciding;
 The great concern is at hand,
 to this our teaching awake ye!"

The substance of his faith is expressed in the belief in two primeval spirits, one good and one evil, between whom we must choose.

"Thus are the spirits primeval
 who, as Twain, by their deeds are famed
 In thought, in word, and in deed,
 a better they two, and an evil;
 Of these, let the wise choose aright,
 and not as the evil-minded!"

He explains how the two spirits work, the good one for life, the bad one for death; how the good one rewards with a Millennium (probably the prototype of the Christian Millennium), and the bad one leads to the pit. The Dævas were deceived by the Evil One, and thus they fell. But we have a chance to choose the right. The Amshaspad, or archangels, are assisting us, and among the powers for good there is Armaiti, the personification of a holy zeal for the good cause, devotion or endeavor. Zoroaster says:

"To us came then the helper
 with the Kingdom, Right, and the Good Mind;
 And a body gave Ârmaiti,
 the eternal and never-bending;
 With these who are Thine may she be,
 as Thou camest first in creations."

The evil ones are doomed:

"Then on the host of the Lie
 the blow of destruction descendeth;
 But swiftest in the abode
 of the Good Mind gather the righteous,
 With Mazda and Asha they dwell
 advancing in holier fame."

But the course of the prophet is not so smooth. The Kingdom of God (Khshathra Vairya) is not so soon released. The powerful rival, a heretical teacher, an idolatrous leader, has risen, and the next Gatha sounds the slogan of war against this dangerous enemy.

In Yasna xliv. Zoroaster preaches the true religion, and sets forth the blessings of obedience; but he seems to have met with disaster, for in Yasna xlv. we

possess a cry *de profundis* ; the prophet seems exiled, and from the depths of his confusion he asks the Lord :

" To what land shall I turn ?, where with my ritual go ?
Of kinsmen, allies, or the mass
None to content their service offer me.

" This know I, Mazda, wherefore foiled I wander
My flocks so small, and following so feeble ;
To Thee in grief I cry, behold it, Master,
Thy grace vouchsafing me, as friend bestows on friend,
Showing with pureness Thy Good Mind's riches best."

In his anxiety, Zoroaster threatens a powerful supporter who seems to shrink from giving him his due assistance, with the same curse as the enemies of the faith ; he says :

" Who having power doth not thus approach him ¹
To the Lie-demon's home in chains will go ;
The wicked's friend is he and likewise wicked,
But righteous he who loves the righteous,
Since the primeval laws Thou gavest, Lord."

Finally, the prophet sees his cause advanced, and he sees himself at the head of an army. He promises victory to those who would side with Asha, the world order, and conquer Lie-Druj, the demon of wickedness. He promises deathless life for the saints, a cursed life for the infidels. He says :

" If he with Asha's deeds
shall slay | the Lie-Druj,
When that once called deceit
our lot | shall really be,
In deathless life for saints,
cursèd for faithless ;
With blessings this
shall swell,
praise, Lord, to Thee."

Nevertheless, the victory is not easily gained ; his enemy, Beñdva, the cruel chieftain, gains a decisive victory, and his people are despondent. The disaster is mentioned in Yasna xlv. :

" Beñdva hath gained . . . !
he ever | yet the strongest . . . ;
The ruthless ² now
with rites | to peace I call ;
Come, Lord, with gift
of good
to heal my sorrow ;

¹ Viz., the prophet with help in his troubles.

² The meaning seems to be, that the Prophet must appease his followers who are dissatisfied on account of the defeat.

With good men gain
for me
that Beñdva's fall ! "

The enemies who " with madness urge on Raid and Wasting, . . . who pray with devil's rites, with Asha's never," they are helped by the fiends ; but, adds the prophet .

" But He is blessing,
Lord, and he our riches,
Who guards our holy Faith
with | good men's hand :
Each willing saint
hath thus Asha enfranchised
With all who in Thy
Realm loyal shall stand."

Without further entering into the details of the progress and the several reverses of Zoroaster's cause, he invokes the Lord and the archangels in the following stanza

" Ye, the most bounteous Mazda
Ahura, and Zealous-Devotion
And Asha, the settlements furth'ring,
thou Good Mind and Kingly Power,
Hear ye me all, and cleanse me
for all deeds which I do whatsoe'er ! "

He instituted the rite of the holy fire :

" Yes, we beseech for Thy Fire
through its holiness¹ strong, O Ahura,
Most swift it is, and most mighty
to the believer shining for succour ;
But for the hater, O Mazda,
it showeth with javelins² vengeance ! "

And he gains a powerful supporter in King Vishtâspa, who is praised for his wisdom and receives the promise of Shura's blessings :

" Holy wisdom Vishtâspa
in the great Realm hath reachèd ;
Hymns of good men revealed it ;
Through this Law Mazda taught it ;
He the bounteous Ahura,
so to teach us in grace."

The prophet enters into a close alliance with his royal disciple, and his daughter is married to the king The last Yasna in Professor Mills's collection, No. liii, is the marriage song, which concludes with the following doxology :

" With unbelievers the foe
Thine upholders would banish

¹ Asha.

² Presumably the lightning.

Through the truth-slaying prayer
 of the body estranged.
 Where's then the Lord righteous
 smiting these out of life,
 And from license would hurl them?
 Mazda, Thine is that Kingdom
 where to poor and right-living
 Thou dost give, Lord, the best?"

OBITUARY.

PIERRE LAFFITTE.

French newspapers announce the death of the official head of the Positivist religion, M. Pierre Laffitte, a venerable octogenarian. He was installed in his office by the will of Auguste Comte who died in 1857. Since then the Positivist school was split into two parties, one which accepted the religious institutions of their master, the other which repudiated the idea of a positivist religion. The latter saw in Comte's last period of life a mere aberration and recognised only his scientific achievements. They represent the large body of scientists and freethinkers and follow the lead of Émile Littré. The former constitute the Comtists proper, a small sect of worshippers of humanity with peculiar rituals, prayers, and festivals. They hold their meetings in the Rue Monsieur-le-Prince, where their leader gave instructions in philosophy, theoretical and applied ethics, sociology and the history of religion, explaining the doctrines of Moses, Buddha, Confucius, St. Paul, and Mahomet.

M. Laffitte held the chair of a general survey of the sciences at the Sorbonne and leaves behind the following works: *Dictionnaire d'ouverture*.—*Des leçons sur l'histoire générale de l'humanité*.—*Des considérations générales sur l'ensemble de la civilisation chinoise*.—*Les grands types de l'humanité*, and *Cours de philosophie première*.

M. Laffitte still enjoyed the satisfaction that in May, 1902, a bust of his master Auguste Comte, was erected on the Place de la Sorbonne which was solemnly unveiled under the auspices of General André.

JULIUS VICTOR CARUS.

Dr. Julius Victor Carus, Professor in the University of Leipzig, a distant relative of the editor of *The Open Court*, died peacefully at an advanced age, on March 10th last. If he had lived a fortnight and a day longer he would have celebrated on March 25th the 80th anniversary of his birth. He was the editor of the *Bibliotheca Zoologica* and the author of many books, perhaps the most significant among them being his *Geschichte der Zoologie* published in 1872, in which he gives a synopsis of zoölogical development from the standpoint of evolution,—an undertaking which, in spite of the great progress which has been made in this branch of science, still remains unique.

Julius Victor Carus was the son of Ernst August Carus, Professor of Medicine at the University of Leipzig. He was born August 25, 1823, attended the Nicolai School till 1841, then the Universities of Leipzig (1841-1844) and of Dorpat (1844), where his father had been appointed professor of surgery. In 1846 he became the resident physician of the St. George Hospital and in 1849 took his doctor's degree at Leipzig. He filled successive positions at Würzburg, Freiburg-Baden, and Ox-

ford, England, in the latter place as a curator of the Anatomical Museum of Christ Church College. In 1850 he spent the summer in scientific work on the Scilly Islands. Having returned to the city of his birth, he habilitated himself in 1851 and was appointed professor in 1853. In 1874 he took the place of Prof. Wyville Thomson as professor of zoölogy at Edinburg during the absence of the latter on the Challenger expedition.

In addition to his translations of Darwin and the *Geschichte der Zoölogie* mentioned above, he wrote a great number of scientific works and articles, among which we mention only his interesting work *Zur näheren Kenntniss des Generationswechsels*—*System der thierischen Morphologie*.—*Icones Zootomicæ*.—



Ueber die Werthbestimmung zoölogischer Merkmale—*Ueber die Leptocephaliden*.—*Prodromus faunae mediterraneæ*. Since 1878 he also edited a magazine, *Zoölogischer Anzeiger*.

Professor Carus's interests were not limited to science. He was a lover of art and was for many years a member of the board of the *Leipziger Kunstverein*.

During the cholera epidemic in 1866 the city of Leipsic had entrusted to him the measures for disinfection and protection, and the Leipsic citizens attribute the fact that they were not visited by the epidemic to his skill and circumspection.

Dr. Carus was a very active man, and in his personal relations extremely affable. He is the translator of Darwin's works into German, and his translation is justly regarded as classical. His name and his labors were identified with the great English evolutionists from the earliest times, long before Darwinism had become popular. Professor Carus leaves a widow, Frau Alexandra Carus, *née* Petroff, three daughters, one son, and several grandchildren, the children of his youngest daughter, who is the wife of the Rev. Dr. John Lehmann of Freiberg, Saxony.

“THE CONDEMNATION OF CHRIST.”

To the Editor of The Open Court:

The paper on "The Condemnation of Christ" in *The Open Court* for April presents several new aspects of the Jewish question, and I have read it with deep interest. It is an invaluable contribution to the literature of the subject, and will enable readers to take more intelligent views of the subject. They may understand better the status and peculiarities of the two great sects that for the period dominated Jewish opinion.

It is clear, as the writer states, that the modern opinions respecting the Pharisees derived from the rebukes given in the Synoptic Gospels, have not been altogether just. They probably, like the rest of us, did not, in marked instances, live up to the high standard of their faith. Many of them were doubtless *hypocrites*—actors performing a part in the drama, rather than themselves the actual heroes. Yet we are told that the early believers at Jerusalem consorted with the Pharisees, and their teachers were recognised as belonging to that school of belief. Paul is recorded as declaiming himself a Pharisee and the son or disciple of a Pharisee, and James who was "zealous of the law" rebuked his brethren for showing special attention to rich men in the synagogue. Dr. Isaac M. Wise told me in conversation that he regarded Jesus himself as a Pharisee.

I beg leave to ask your attention to the etymology and true meaning of the terms Pharisee and Sadducee. I have been led to conjecture that the latter term was derived from the name of the priest-line of Zadok, and was applied to the Sadducees as being of the sacerdotal party.

The term "Pharisee" is, however, of greater significance. The Rev. C. W. King, in his treatise on The Gnostics, suggests the same origin as you have done in your footnote: "Hence, indeed," says he, "it is easy to perceive how much of the Zoroastrian element pervaded the Jewish religion at the time of the promulgation of Christianity, when its principal teachers were the Pharisees or 'Interpreters'; if, indeed, these doctors did not actually take their appellation from the word *Pharsi* or Persian." There is certainly much plausibility in the supposition, for some of the Zoroastrian doctrines appear to have been incorporated in Judaism, which had not been there before. As, however, punning and double meaning were not uncommon in ancient Semitic names, it is by no means impossible that the name "Pharisee" should have been adopted because it implied both a Parsi and a teacher.

The investigation, however, may be profitably carried a little further.

We read also of the Rechabites, the sons of Rechab. A slight knowledge of Hebrew literary usage will show that a parentage is not necessarily denoted, but simply community in social conditions. A little light is given in the second chapter of the first book of Chronicles. The "families of the scribes" are there indicated

and further declared to be "the Kenites that came of Hemath, the father of the house of Rechab."

It is fairly deducible therefore that the "sons of Rechab" were a sept of the Kenites, and that the latter were a tribe of religious and of course literary men living distinct from other peoples. A reference to the first chapter of the book of Judges will show that the father-in-law of Moses, who was "priest of Midian," was himself a Kenite. The Rechabites were plainly Kenites, and a distinct class.

The Hebrew term R'K'B or Rechab is used in the Bible to signify a vehicle, the driver of a vehicle and so by figure of speech, the vehicle of learning. Its derivative, Mercaba, has the same meaning. This epithet *Rechab* is applied in turn to Elijah and Elisha as the *Ab* or Superior of the Prophets. The term *Pharisee* is also added in Hebrew style as having a similar meaning. When Elijah passes from sight Elisha mourns him crying: "My Father, the *rechab* or chariot of Israel and its *pharisee*." King Joash in turn mourns Elisha in the same terms.

In Nebemiah viii. 8 we find the verb *pharis* used to denote making the meaning distinctly understood.

It seems plain therefore that the Pharisees were teachers of the law, and as a body they were austere, exact, but gentle toward the unworthy and unfortunate. Many to be sure were insincere, but they did not represent the whole. The teachings accredited to Jesus, and even the "Lord's Prayer" were to a great degree, not to say entirely, repeated from the sayings of Rabbis and the invocations in the synagogue. Honor to whom honor is due.

ALEXANDER WILDER.

NEWARK, N. J.

A SIGN.

I wished of God a sign,
To give my heart relief,
Some token of His love,
For all mankind in grief.

I watched the budding leaves,
Unfolding to the light,
The rainbow 'cross the sky,
Storm blackness breaking bright.

Flutter, and bum, and stir,
Of bird and leaf and tree;
A sparkling beam, the brook and stream,
Life songs so fair and free.

The wondrous toil of man
For all our daily need;
Love's art and work; our hope
A higher life to lead!

And so the sign was given:
The "still small voice of God";
I heard on every side,
And saw the blossomed rod.

FLORENCE PEORIA BONNEY.

NOTES.

Mr. V. Tchertkoff, the translator of Tolstoy's article "The Overthrow of Hell and its Restoration," wrote to Mr. E. Howard Crosby under a recent date as follows:

"Tolstoy has been again ill but is now much better, although he suffers a good deal from insomnia. He is able to go about and takes drives every day of about two hours. He is not yet satisfied with himself with regard to literary work which he is not able to get on with to his satisfaction; but this has always been periodically the case with him generally before he writes something very remarkable. His mind is very active, and those who enjoy personal intercourse with him are struck by the power and vitality of his thought."

The April number of *The Open Court* contained an illustrated article on the Acropolis of Athens, and we publish now as a frontispiece to the present number a picture of the bust of Pericles, the great Athenian statesman, after whom the period of the highest development of Athenian power and glory and art is called the Periclean age.

The bust here reproduced was found in 1781 in Tivoli and stands now in the British Museum. Apparently it is a copy of the bust made by Cresilas, a contemporary of Pericles of whom the ancients said that he understood the art of ennobling noble men.

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